

SOVIET RUSSIA

SOCIAL SCIENCE

15c

AUGUST, 1949

PUBLIC LIBRARY
DETROIT
Today



PAUL ROBESON IN MOSCOW • KEY ISSUES IN US-USSR RELATIONS
Trade Unionists View the USSR • More on the Lysenko Controversy

The response to this appeal, published last month, has been gratifying, but unfortunately not sufficient. We are repeating it, therefore, in the hope that those readers who have not yet contributed will find it possible to do so.

Dear SRT Reader:

Our library subscriptions may have to go.

Through a special fund provided by our readers, we have been maintaining subscriptions for libraries wishing to receive SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY but unable to subscribe. These subscriptions are now running out. Unless this fund is replenished, we cannot continue to carry them.

But for every library subscription that we no longer carry, twenty readers or more will be left without the opportunity to learn the truth about the many vital issues facing our country today.

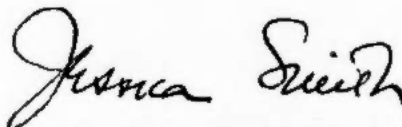
We should like to avoid that. We have been holding back to the last minute. With help from you we may still be able to avoid that. But, as this is being written, abandonment of the library subscriptions is only one of the drastic measures we are faced with in order to carry us through the difficult summer months.

For the last fund appeal calling for help over the summer months did not bring in all that was needed.

Not that the response was not generous. In view of the present economic conditions, the response was very generous. But at this critical time we have to ask our friends to be more than generous, even to make sacrifices.

To tide the magazine over this difficult period, we must call on all of our friends for all that they can give, and to send it in immediately.

Sincerely,



Jessica Smith, Editor

P. S. If you wish to subscribe for one or more specific libraries, please send us the names and addresses, together with your contribution at the special library subscription rate of \$1 a year.

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY • 114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

I am enclosing \$ _____
to help maintain subscriptions to SOVIET RUSSIA
TODAY for the libraries.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zone _____
State _____

If the contribution is for specific libraries, please
give the name and address of each library below:

CONTENTS

August 1949

Review and Comment
Jessica Smith 4

Paul Robeson's Soviet
Journey Amy Schechter 9

Midsummer in Moscow
Ralph Parker 12

The Meaning of the
Lysenko Controversy
Bernard Friedman 14

British Trade Unionists
Visit the USSR
Henry Levitt
Harry Weaver 15

Your Questions Answered
Theodore Bayer 19

Maria, short story
Y. Bessonov 20

Book Reviews 23

JESSICA SMITH
Editor

ANDREW VOYNOW
Assistant Editor

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER
Book Review Editor

FREDERICK V. FIELD
Editorial Consultant
on Far Eastern Relations

DONALD SCHOOLMAN
Business Manager

AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS ADAMIC, W. E. B. DU BOIS,
H. W. L. DANA, JEROME DAVIS, ILYA
EHRENBURG, HENRY PRATT FAIR-
CHILD, SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN, STANLEY
M. ISAACS, DR. HEWLETT JOHNSON,
DEAN OF CANTERBURY, VLADIMIR D.
KAZAKEVICH, SERGEI KOURNAKOFF,
JOSHUA KUNITZ, CORLISS LAMONT,
HARRIET MOORE, RUSSELL NIXON, D. N.
PRITT, M.P., GORDON SCHAPPER, DR.
HENRY E. SINGER, KONSTANTINE SI-
MONOV, JOHANNES STEEL, BERNHARD
J. STERN, V. J. TERESHENKO, HARRY
F. WARD, MAX WERNER, AARON YUGOW.

Vol. 17, No. 16, August, 1949. Entered
as second class matter, March 25, 1932,
at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.,
under the act of March 3, 1879.
Subscription \$1.50 per year, \$1.00 for
6 months (Canadian and foreign, add
50¢). Published monthly by the S.R.T.
Publishers, Inc., 114 East 32nd Street,
New York 16, N. Y. Indexed in Bul-
letin of the Public Affairs Information
Service. Phone: MUrray Hill 3-3855.
PRINTED IN U.S.A.



BULGARIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

The letter published below was received from Sofia and has been somewhat condensed. We thought our readers might be interested in reading this on-the-spot report of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship.—Ed.

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

The month of June was devoted this year to Soviet culture and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and the occasion was marked by the arrival of distinguished Soviet guests in our country.

This celebration month coincided with two great anniversaries, the 100th anniversary of the great Bulgarian national poet Christo Botev, and the 150th anniversary of the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin. Both occasions were marked by a series of lectures and special reports by both Bulgarian scholars and our esteemed Soviet guests.

Reports were made by the President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Professor T. Pavlov, on "Pushkin's Works and Their Significance," and by two Soviet guests, Professor D. Chesnokov and Professor D. Zaslavsky.

The object of the Month of Soviet Culture was best described by *Bulgaro-Sovetsko Edinstvo*, the newspaper of the Bulgarian-Soviet organization, which declared: "The aim of this cultural manifestation is to popularize among our people the Soviet Socialist culture, its achievements in the various fields of cultural development and, by taking advantage of the rich Soviet experience in the field of culture, to develop Bulgarian Socialist culture. Alongside this, however, the campaign aims at strengthening the existing cordial and sincere Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, the surest guarantee for our independence and free existence, for our Socialist upbringing."

Participating in the solemn opening of the Month's celebration were General Gundarov, head of the Soviet delegation, who spoke on education in the USSR; the well-known Soviet poets A. Surkov, who is the editor of the magazine *Ogonek*, and S. Mihalkov, author of the text of the Soviet Hymn, each of whom read some of his works; the Soviet singer N. Kazantseva and the Soviet ballerina A. Shelest, both performed.

But the Month was marked by a series of lectures, concerts, athletic events, chess matches, all of which drew the attention of the Bulgarian public.

The great Soviet writer, Vsevolod Ivanov, spoke at friendly gatherings with great warmth, beauty and humor of his meetings with Maxim Gorky.

The Soviet historian, Professor Udaltsov, spoke of the studies of Slavism in the USSR; Professor Issayev spoke on Michurin and Soviet biological science; the painter Reshetnikov reported on contemporary Soviet painting.

The famous Soviet Pyatnitsky Chorus, a collection of 200 persons, toured Bulgaria and drew capacity audiences wherever they performed their magnificent songs and dances.

The chess matches between the great Soviet masters, Keres and Bondarevsky, and the best Bulgarian chess players, were followed with

tremendous interest. The main boulevard of Sofia, Czar Osvoboditel, has never been so packed with chess fans. They stood for hours on end until late at night watching the development of the games on the huge chess boards that were hung in front of the Military Club where the games were played.

The Month's celebration coincided also with the annual holiday of the Bulgarian physical culturists, and many Soviet athletes participated in the colorful exercises.

The Month was a genuine national holiday and a cordial manifestation of spontaneous fraternal feeling for the great Soviet Union and its progressive Socialist culture.

Peter Stoyanov.

Sofia, Bulgaria.

CLEAR REPORTS

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

The present condition of world affairs was ably described by General Omar N. Bradley on November 11, 1948. His clear, concise explanation should be brought to the attention of the world's statesmen and potential world citizens interested in the cause of world peace.

General Bradley said:

"With the monstrous weapons man already has, humanity is in danger of being trapped in this world by its moral adolescence. Our knowledge of science has clearly outstripped our capacity to control it. We have too many men of science; too few men of God. We have grasped the mystery of the atom and rejected the Sermon on the Mount. Man is stumbling blindly through a spiritual darkness while toying with the precarious secrets of life and death. The world has achieved brilliance without wisdom, power without conscience. Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we do about peace, more about killing than we know about living. This is our 20th century's claim to distinction and progress."

This statement is as true as the day is long. We would have everything to gain and nothing to lose if we were to ponder these words and think about the role humanity has played—and continues to play—in world affairs. It is to the credit of *Soviet Russia Today* that clear, comprehensive reports on world affairs are made available to all subscribers, for these reports point out the basic fact that freedom of the press is vital to the well being of human relations the world over.

Joseph A. Pracher.

Berwyn, Ill.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

I have just finished reading *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia* by Albert E. Kahn and Michael Sayers. Since it is well authenticated, the reader will not need to doubt its truth. I think it should somehow get into the hands of every thoughtful person. It would do much to discredit some of the hate propaganda that is published in the free (?) press of this country.

Rene Anville.

Notice to Librarians

We are continuing Vol. 17 up to the end of the calendar year. From now on, Volume numbers will change with the January issues.—SRT

Our Cover shows Paul Robeson on Theater Square in Moscow. This photo and those on pages 9, 10 and 11 are from an album that was presented to Mr. Robeson on his departure from the USSR. Other photos in this issue are, unless otherwise specified, from Sovfoto.

Review

and Comment

The Foreign Ministers' Conference

THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE PARIS MEETING OF THE Council of Foreign Ministers, according to Andrei Vyshinsky in an article published in the Moscow Press of June 30, was "the undoubted failure of the policy of splitting Germany, of aggravating international relations, and the undoubted success of the line of policy of restoring the unity of Germany, of improving international relations, for international cooperation."

Secretary Acheson appraised the results differently. "I don't think we accomplished very much," he told President Truman, alighting from the plane that brought him back to Washington.

There you have it. The success of the conference signalized the failure of the U.S. delegates to accomplish their purpose of demonstrating that no agreement could be reached with the Soviet Union—except on their own terms of splitting Germany or bringing the whole country under the West's anti-Potsdam policies.

On the basic question of Germany, the conference restored quadripartite consultations in Berlin and opened the way to trade between Eastern and Western zones. The main essentials of an Austrian Peace Treaty were mapped out, and definite plans made for the draft treaty to be completed by September 1. These agreements, however limited, indicate that East-West agreement is possible and open the way for settlement of the larger issues. Therein lie their supreme importance.

Not only was the very holding of the conference significant, signaling the resumption of deliberations of the Foreign Ministers' Council after a lapse of a year and a half, but the Ministers' agreement to consult at the September UN Assembly session on the date for their next meeting guarantees its continued functioning.

And finally, the easing in international tensions caused by the conference agreements brought an inestimable boon to the war-weary peoples of the world.

It would give us the deepest satisfaction to be able to say that these positive achievements were the results of our own government's efforts to reach a settlement and indicated a turn in American foreign policy.

Unfortunately, neither the objective facts nor the official statements of the Administration provide any basis for this.

First of all, the Administration spared no efforts to intensify the cold war and to win for itself strategic victories before even agreeing to a conference, which it hoped to attend as a conqueror imposing terms of surrender on a defeated enemy. Thus the Berlin crisis was artificially kept alive for almost a year. The North Atlantic Pact, an aggressive military alliance flaunted in the face of the Soviet Union, was pushed through. The three-power Occupation Statute making Western Germany a virtual American colony was agreed on in Washington, and the undemocratic Bonn Constitution, dictated by Western military authorities, was rushed to completion on the eve of the conference. Administration circles did everything possible to torpedo the conference in advance with prophecies of inevitable failure. U.S. delegates departed for Paris under the banner of "no compromise." They met in advance with British and French representatives to form a united front against the USSR.

The new Senator from New York, John Foster Dulles, in his maiden speech on July 12, revealed that American of-

ficials in Paris considered rejecting Soviet offers for a Berlin settlement in order to insure ratification of the North Atlantic Pact, since "some feared any relaxation of East-West tension would bring a corresponding relaxation on the part of the American people and, therefore, they needed to be kept artificially alarmed." He added that this thesis was rejected on the ground that the American people "could be trusted with the truth." It may be assumed, however, that this seeming "frankness" was indulged in only to give the impression that this thesis had indeed been rejected when it was not rejected at all. It was no such deliberate decision, but the realities of the international situation which brought about results so different than had been intended. The secret three-power conferences must have revealed sharp divisions within the Western group. The failure of the Marshall Plan, the accelerating depression signals in America, the economic crisis in Britain, the Anglo-American trade war, the independent trade arrangements with the Soviet Union under way in Britain, France and the Marshallized countries, forcing recognition of the necessity of East-West trade—all these had their effect.

The growing might of the people's peace movement in Europe, the consolidation of a People's China, the liberation struggles of the colonial peoples, the economic advances of the USSR and the People's Democracies as shown in the UN Economic Survey—these forces had their unseen delegates sitting among the Foreign Ministers, and their influence could not be ignored.

And finally, there was the refusal of the Soviet Union to be provoked into counter aggressive actions or into leaving the conference; in declining to accept any arrangements for the splitting of Germany, insisting instead on a return to the basic principles of Potsdam and offering proposals for a new start toward economic and political unity, proposals of such a reasonable nature that the West could not reject them and retain even a modicum of prestige in the eyes of the peoples of the world.

The begrudging attitude of Washington on the results of the conference have been in sharp contrast to the optimistic appraisals heard from Moscow. The Administration apparently felt that any emphasis on its success would hamper action on the North Atlantic Pact, and especially of the corollary Arms Program. For, indeed, the admission of success only demonstrates the complete bankruptcy of our cold war policy.

And yet in the face of this demonstrated bankruptcy, President Truman on June 21 boasted that the results of the conference had shown the correctness of American foreign policy and the necessity to continue to follow a "firm course." And Secretary Acheson blandly commented on June 23, in a statement released by the State Department, that what happened in Paris was due to "the progress (sic) that has been achieved in the restoration of Western Europe." And in the face of the United States' efforts to consolidate its hold over a separate Western Germany with the cartels going full blast and American monopoly capital in the saddle, Secretary Acheson went so far as to declare that no agreement was possible on German unification because the USSR refused to relax its hold in any way upon any area it controlled in Germany!

Soviet Proposals at Paris

THE AGENDA OF THE PARIS FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING included: 1. The unity of Germany, including economic principles, political principles and Allied control. 2. Berlin and the currency problem. 3. Preparation of a peace treaty with Austria.

At the opening of the conference, Mr. Vyshinsky raised the question of the expediency of establishing a date for the Council of Foreign Ministers to discuss, with the participation of China, the question of a peace treaty with Japan.

This suggestion was based on the provision of the Potsdam Agreement that the preparation of the peace settlements was the function of the Council, to be composed, in the case of each particular treaty, of members of those states signatory to the terms of surrender of the enemy state concerned. The question was deferred, and when it came up subsequently, the three Western powers insisted that this matter should be under the jurisdiction of the eleven-power Far Eastern Commission in Washington, although when this Commission had been set up at Potsdam, the peace settlement had not been envisaged as among its functions, which were to be concerned chiefly with formulating policies for the fulfillment of Japan's terms of surrender.

Mr. Vyshinsky opened the discussion on German unity by reviewing decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences and subsequent Foreign Ministers' meetings on the cardinal task of destroying German militarism and Nazism and setting up an all-German Government on democratic foundations, never again able to threaten the peace of the world. For the implementation of these decisions, the Quadripartite Allied Control Council was set up. But the Western powers had substituted trilateral control, organized a separate Western Germany and set up a separate control agency for the Ruhr.

Stressing the importance of the Ruhr as the center of the coal and iron and steel production decisive to the whole economy of Germany, Mr. Vyshinsky declared it was well understood at Potsdam that the control of the Ruhr should be on a quadripartite basis, and that it was entirely incorrect to eliminate the Control Council from settling problems of the Ruhr. He proposed the organization of an international control agency consisting of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France and the USSR, with participation of other states bordering on Germany, namely Holland, Luxembourg, Denmark, Poland and Czechoslovakia, for consultation on questions connected with the Ruhr output, as well as representatives of German economic agencies.

Mr. Vyshinsky then offered concrete proposals as a basis for establishing an economically and politically unified Germany. These included restoring the activity of the Allied Control Council on the former quadripartite basis to exercise supreme authority in Germany as a whole, and restoring the Inter-Allied Kommandatura in Berlin for coordinating city-wide administrative measures and for insuring normal life of Berlin as a whole. At the same time, to provide opportunity for the Germans themselves to participate in problems of economic and state development, the Soviet delegation proposed setting up an all-German State Council on the basis of German economic agencies now existing in Eastern and Western zones, and restoring the All-Berlin City Council.

The Western powers would have none of these proposals, Mr. Acheson claiming that there could be "no retreat to Potsdam" since it had "failed disastrously in the past." Mr. Acheson, having thus admitted the abandonment of Potsdam, sought to prove that the Western powers had lived up to it but the USSR had not, and that reestablishment of quadripartite control would be "a step backward." Answering him, Mr. Vyshinsky wondered on what basis the tripartite control established by the West could then be considered a step forward. In the discussions that followed the Western powers continued to put forward objections to the Soviet proposals without offering any counter proposals of their own. They tried to make it appear that in emphasizing matters of economic unity the Soviet delegation was trying to evade the issue of an all-German State. Mr. Vyshinsky made clear that this was not the case at all, but they were simply realistically proposing to begin with what agencies already existed and to go forward from there to the larger issues.

The discussions revealed that a paramount Western objection was concerned with the unanimity principle in the

Allied Control Council, since they wanted decisions by majority vote. Mr. Vyshinsky pointed out that the Washington agreements on trilateral control also operated on the unanimity principle with regard to the most important issues, and asked why *trilateral* control on the basis of unanimity was possible, but *quadrilateral* control on that basis impermissible.

Western Counter-Proposals

ON MAY 28, MR. BEVIN FINALLY SUBMITTED DRAFT PROPOSALS on German unity on behalf of the Western powers. The draft proposed the establishment of a federal government for the whole of Germany on the basis of the "Bonn Fundamental Law," to which it proposed that the *laender* of Eastern Germany should adhere, and the extension of the Washington Occupation Statute on a quadripartite basis to all of Germany. Further revising the Potsdam agreement, the draft emphasized that control must be exercised by a "supreme commission" operating on a majority vote. Thus the Western representatives sought to insure in advance the formation of an agency in which, having an assured majority of the votes, they could decide all questions to their own liking. The draft also included a repudiation of Yalta reparations agreements.

Mr. Vyshinsky charged that the Western plan was a plan not for uniting, but for dismembering Germany. He said it meant the imposition on the German people of a federative system they did not want, giving extensive powers to the *laender* at the expense of the central government, and that the Bonn Constitution had been drawn up without the participation of the German people. He pointed out that it contained no provision restricting the dominating role of the German monopolies. He went on:

The proposal to extend the so-called Bonn Constitution to all of Germany is nothing else but an attempt to impose on Eastern Germany a system instituted without the participation of the population of Eastern Germany and without the participation of the Soviet Union, which in conformity with the Potsdam Agreement bears responsibility for this zone. This proposal also ignores the fact that the German people in the Soviet Zone have already expressed their attitude to the future organization of Germany in the draft Constitution drawn up by the People's Council and discussed by the entire people.

On the question of extending the Occupation Statute to all of Germany, Mr. Vyshinsky declared that this would mean in fact renunciation of the plan for a peace treaty and prolongation of the occupation regime for an indefinite period, since the Statute sets no date for its termination and Mr. Acheson himself had indicated that it might last for fifty years.

The Occupation Statute also places in the hands of the occupation authorities, rather than of the German people, many important functions of State administration. While insisting on the return to Germany of some of the enterprises removed for reparations, the Occupation Statute is silent, charged Vyshinsky, on the extensive penetration of American and British monopoly capital into the economy of Western Germany and especially the Ruhr. The so-called freedom said to exist in the Western Zones, "means in reality persecution of democratic parties and organizations and freedom of activity for the big monopolies and circles which in the past supported Hitlerite aggression." The proposal for a majority vote, he said, stemmed not from a policy of cooperation among the occupying powers, but a policy of dictation.

Turning to the second item on the agenda, Berlin and the Currency Question, the Foreign Ministers had before them the Soviet proposal for restoration of the Berlin Citywide Magistrat and the Inter-Allied Kommandatura functioning, as established at Potsdam and by later agreed-on regulations, on the basis of unanimity. The Western powers again made it clear that they would accept no arrangement not guarantee-

(Continued on page 7)

GEORGI DIMITROV

1882-1949

GEORGI DIMITROV, the great anti-fascist and people's leader, is dead. Throughout the world millions join in sorrowful tribute to one of the giants of our time. A life-long trade union leader and Communist, leader of the former Communist International, and at the time of his death General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Premier of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Dimitrov was loved and honored far beyond Communist circles. He belonged not only to Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, but to the world's working class and colonial peoples, to all people everywhere who cherish democracy, peace and freedom. Millions remember the lofty courage of his challenge to Hitler at the Reichstag Fire Trial, the grandeur of his call to all lovers of peace for united struggle against fascism and war.

Let those who have organized the trial of the twelve American Communist leaders at Foley Square and loosed the maniac spy hunts, ponder this. Are there not parallels to the Reichstag trial in what is going on in the United States today?

Dimitrov was born in Radonia, Bulgaria in 1882, of a worker's family. At the age of fifteen, as a printer's compositor, he began working actively in the printers' union and in the revolutionary movement. In 1902, he joined the Bulgarian Social Democratic Labor Party and from the beginning was associated with its left wing. In 1905, he was elected secretary of the Alliance of Revolutionary Trade Union Workers of Bulgaria. He led dozens of great labor struggles, served the workers devotedly as a member of the National Assembly. In 1923, he led the armed uprising against the militarist-fascists who had overthrown the democratic Bulgarian government; forced to leave his country, he was twice condemned to death in absentia.

An exile in Germany when Hitler came to power, Dimitrov was arrested for the burning of the Reichstag. Turning the tables against his accusers, he hurled at them his immortal indictment, proving that they themselves were the incendiaries—not only of the Reichstag, but of terror and war.

In his magnificent final speech, Dimitrov demolished the false charge that the Communists preach force and violence and had fired the Reichstag as a signal for armed uprising. Of the Communist Party, seeking to operate legally under fascism, he said: "Such a Party cannot officially say one thing to the millions of its followers and at the same time do the opposite."

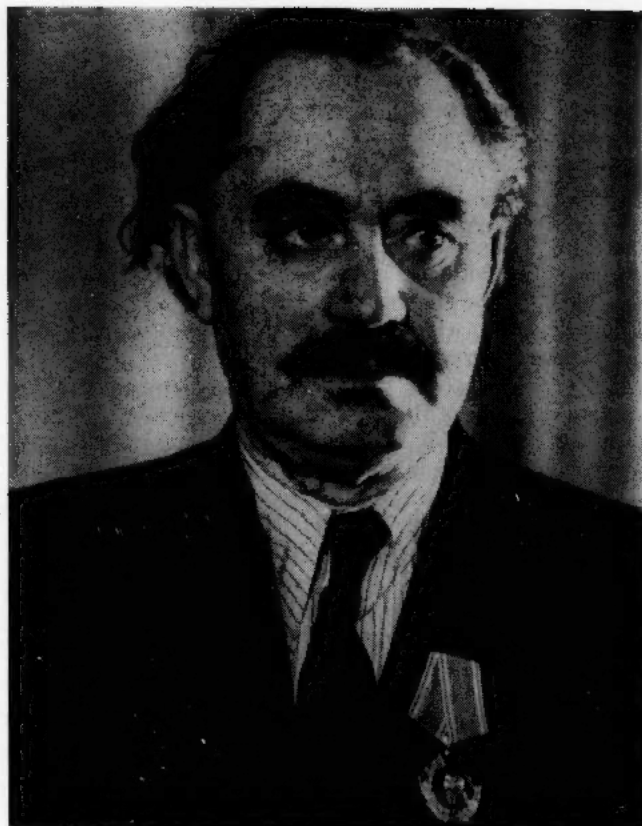
Dimitrov warned that the repressive decree issued by the Nazi Government for which the fire had been made the pretext, was aimed not only against the Communists, but against Social-Democrats, Christian workers and all other oppositionist parties and groups.

The Nazis were forced by the pressure of world democratic opinion to acquit Dimitrov. In Moscow, in 1935, he organized the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, and there made his historic speech calling for a united workers' front and a broad people's coalition against fascism and war. He called for struggle not only against the open terrorist forms of fascism but its many preparatory stages, taking different guises in different countries:

"Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary facilitates that victory."

He proclaimed as Communist policy "to defend every inch of bourgeois democratic liberties being attacked by fascism." Prophetically, he described incipient fascism in America as appearing principally in the guise of opposition to fascism, and trying to portray itself "as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American Democracy'."

Over and over in that speech, Dimitrov urged the neces-



sity of uniting the working class and the people, Communists and non-Communists, to resist all advances of fascism and preparations for war.

The Communists, he said, must be where the masses are—even if that means working within fascist organizations which have attracted workers with false slogans. This "Trojan Horse" tactic which he outlined has been grossly distorted by the reactionaries as a Communist maneuver to "infiltrate" and take over democratic organizations. But Dimitrov was talking *only of methods of fighting fascism*.

If the hand then outstretched for united struggle against fascism and war had been grasped in all democratic lands the course of history might have been very different. Only in the flames of World War II was that unity forged—and the victory it brought, the military defeat of fascism, was in no small part due to the groundwork laid by Dimitrov.

This time the lesson must be learned before a new war comes.

Dimitrov died on July 2, of diabetes and other complications, in a sanitarium near Moscow. A short time before he had conversed with a delegation from his native Bulgaria, whose emergence into a people's democracy he had lived to see and further. To a student in the delegation he gave what was to be his final message—a message to Bulgarian youth to work and study and help build a democratic Bulgaria, firmly on the side of peace, democracy and friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

That would have been his message to Americans, too.

SERGEI KOURNAKOFF DIES

As we go to press we have received the sad news of the death of our dear friend and valued collaborator, Captain Sergei N. Kournakoff. Sergei returned to his native Russia in 1946, after many years in this country, and died in Moscow, on July 5, after a lingering illness brought on, perhaps, by his unsparing activities for victory over fascism in the war years. We shall pay our tribute to him in the next issue.

ing them the decisive voice. Mr. Vyshinsky pointed out that four-power administration, to be effective, required the concurrence of all of them and not the subjugation of one to the will of the other three. He also showed that during 1945 and 1946, when the international atmosphere was different the Inter-Allied Kommandatura, governed by the unanimity principle, had been able to reach agreement on the majority of issues before it.

Discussing quadripartite arrangements for new city elections to the Berlin Citywide Magistrat, the Soviet delegation proposed that the election commission be set up on the basis of parity between the Soviet and the Western sectors. The U. S. proposed an equal number of representatives from each of the four sectors. But this, Mr. Vyshinsky pointed out, would give an obvious advantage to the Western powers. The West German population is not divided by administrative barriers; the three Western sectors have a single system in police, transport and all other matters and their own single Magistrat to which elections had been held on a single ticket. Thus, the Western powers, who so often have accused the Soviet Union of trying to drive them out of Berlin, demonstrated that they wanted only a situation in which they could, in effect, drive the Soviet Union out of Berlin, and out of Germany, for under their proposed arrangement the USSR would, in effect, have no voice at all.

Turning to the question of currency, Mr. Vyshinsky reviewed the many months' negotiations on this question and recalled the Moscow agreement of August 30, 1948, as well as the recommendations of the Technical Committee set up by the Security Council, that simultaneously with the lifting of traffic restrictions by both sides, a single currency would be introduced in Berlin. This agreement had not been carried out; and the Western powers had introduced their own currency into Western Berlin. Mr. Vyshinsky therefore proposed that the Foreign Ministers now agree on accepting as a single currency for all Berlin the German mark of the Soviet zone, on the basis of the August 30 agreement and the recommendations of the Security Council Technical Committee.

The Western powers refused to examine the question at all, although the New York four-power agreement of May 5 on lifting Berlin traffic restrictions, had envisaged that this question would be settled by the Foreign Ministers' Council. Mr. Acheson, repudiating the earlier agreements, insisted that it was impossible to introduce a single currency in Berlin.

On the German Peace Treaty, the Western powers showed considerable reluctance to enter upon any discussion, raising all sorts of technical objections that no draft had been prepared, etc., etc. Mr. Vyshinsky said the Soviet delegation had come to the conference prepared to submit proposals and had assumed the Western powers would do likewise, since this was the central post-war issue, of equal importance not only to the people of Germany, but for all peace-loving nations of Europe. Recalling the repeated Soviet proposals for the settlement of this issue, he reminded the ministers of their obligations under the UN General Assembly resolution of November 3, 1948, to redouble their efforts toward the swiftest possible conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

Mr. Vyshinsky then proposed on behalf of his delegation that the Governments of the Four Powers submit drafts of the peace treaty with Germany within three months to the Council of Foreign Ministers, these drafts to provide for withdrawal from Germany of the occupation forces within a year after the signing of the treaty.

The Western Powers rejected the Soviet proposal, Secretary Acheson characterizing the procedure it outlined as "an absolutely criminal waste of time." The proposal, said this polished gentleman, is "as full of propaganda as a dog of fleas—in fact it is all fleas and no dog."

Following several days of inconclusive discussion around

this issue, ten days of secret Four Power discussions took place.

These were the days when the unbidden delegates, the peace forces of the world, the mounting economic crisis, made their voices heard with increasing insistence.

Agreement is Reached

THE MAIN OUTLINES OF THE AGREEMENT ANNOUNCED JUNE 20 were reported in our last issue. Summing up the results of the conference in his June 30 article, Mr. Vyshinsky noted that the three Western powers, failing to obtain approval of their splitting policies in Germany, had been forced to find another way out, and to come forward with new proposals, quite different from their original ones. This, he said, was hardly confirmation of U. S. foreign policy toward Germany, as American officials were trying to make it appear. Mr. Vyshinsky showed that the final decisions adopted by the conference were, in fact, based on the Soviet delegation's proposals. This, he said, was confirmed by the provision for the occupation authorities, in pursuance of efforts for the restoration of economic and political unity of Germany, to consult together on a quadripartite basis, by the agreement on establishing closer economic ties between leading German bodies of Eastern and Western zones, expansion of trade and so on. All this was clearly a departure from their earlier position of doing everything on a tripartite basis.

Mr. Vyshinsky said that agreement had been possible on the question of Austria because on the one hand the three Western powers had withdrawn their objections to the legitimate demands of the Soviet Government with regard to former German property in Eastern Austria; while, with regard to the settlement of issues between Yugoslavia and Austria, Mr. Vyshinsky said:

Yugoslavia was insured her economic interests by the transfer to her of Austrian property on Yugoslav territory. The protection of the rights of the Slovene and Croat National minorities in Burgenland, Carinthia and Styria was also secured. As for Yugoslav territorial claims on Austria, it should be said that already, two years ago . . . representatives of Yugoslavia conducted secret negotiations behind the back of the Soviet Union with the representatives of Britain . . . but did not obtain any concessions from them. It is clear that the Soviet Union cannot assume any responsibility for the consequences of such backstage negotiations.

In conclusion, Mr. Vyshinsky emphasized the fact that the Paris meeting had been made possible by mutual concessions on the part of the three Western Governments and the Soviet Government. He made it absolutely clear that the Soviet Union proposes to continue the road of conciliation and agreement in this significant final statement:

I think that in the future, too, it will be necessary to make certain mutual concessions compatible with the principles of the Potsdam agreement.

The Berlin Railway Strike

THE BERLIN RAILWAY STRIKE, CALLED ON THE EVE OF THE Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers, was instigated by the Western occupation authorities to bolster their position that it was impossible to reach agreement with the Soviet Union, and to further their policy of splitting Germany.

Press reports of the strike gave the impression that the workers had justified economic demands, and that the Soviet authorities acted as strikebreakers. The facts prove otherwise.

It was odd indeed to read the reports favoring the strikers in the American press generally, which does not usually root for the workers in their struggles. It was also odd to read the statement by General Frank S. Howley, U. S. Military Commandant in Berlin, that "Acts . . . to suppress a legitimate strike cannot be tolerated any longer." Especially during the very period when General Douglas MacArthur was using his powers as head of the American occupation forces

to smash a strike of miners and another of railway men in Japan, where under his decrees, the railwaymen do not even have the right to bargain collectively. When the Soviet representative in Japan protested, General MacArthur charged Russia with inciting violence.

No such tenderness for the interests of the German workers was revealed when, during the same period British authorities were using not only police, but troops, machine guns and armored cars against German workers who were protesting the dismantling of one of the Ruhr plants competing with British industry. Nor has any great concern been manifested by the Western authorities over the fact that a million and a half German workers in their zones are receiving no wages at all, being unemployed largely because of Western policies of not trading with the East.

The conditions providing a pretext for the strike were the result of the action of the Western powers in introducing Western currency into their sectors of Berlin. Until last March the regular German mark used in the Eastern zone was interchangeable with the Western mark in Western Berlin. On March 20, however, the Magistrat of Western Berlin, controlled by the Western occupation authorities, decreed that food stores in the Western sectors could no longer accept as legal tender the German marks of the Soviet zone; the same regulation was applied to rent and public utilities payments. This created a difficult situation for the employees of the City Railway who lived in the West zone and received their payment in East marks, since the value of the West mark was set several times higher. To ease this situation, the Soviet Railway Administration (which controlled the Berlin elevated railway under a Four-Power Agreement of 1945) reached agreement to transfer all proceeds from the city railway received in West marks to the Western Magistrat, which in turn agreed to exchange part of the railwaymen's wages for West marks. At the same time, the Soviet Administration opened special food stores at the railway stations where West Berlin railway workers could use East marks.

Early in May, the Western occupation authorities suddenly closed down all railway stores and the West Berlin Magistrat suspended the monetary exchange arrangement. The Western occupation authorities then encouraged the UGO, an independent union, to go on strike, demanding their full pay in West marks. The UGO had been set up under the instructions of the Western authorities in opposition to the Soviet recognized railway union affiliated with the powerful Free Federation of German Workers, comprising some 5,000,000 workers in the Soviet Zone.

The Western-instigated action took place just about the time the four-power agreement was being reached in New York on the mutual lifting of all traffic restrictions in Berlin. The USSR withdrew its insistence on simultaneous currency regulation, to which the Western powers had previously agreed, with the understanding that the problem was to be settled at the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

While for months accusations had been levelled against the Russians for threatening the peace through blocking traffic from the West into Berlin, the railway stoppage brought about by the Western authorities served to block their transport as effectively as any restrictions imposed by the Russians.

This Western maneuver put the Soviet authorities in an extraordinarily difficult position. It was designed to compel their recognition of a dual union, creating difficulties with relation to the regular union; to force their acceptance of the Western zone mark which had caused the original trouble, on the eve of a conference supposed to settle this question; to put them in a position of making an exception for railroad workers which they could not make for other workers living in the West but working in the East, without undermining their whole economy; and finally, if the railway operations were stopped, laying them open to the charge of violat-

ing the New York agreement to lift transport restrictions.

Many more non-workers than actual railway workers were involved in the strike, and all kinds of rowdy elements were permitted to engage in violent actions under protection of the Western police. On May 20, small groups of men, with Western plainclothes police among them, started destroying railway lines and damaging rolling stock. On May 22, the American radio station in Berlin broadcast the provocative call "All enemies of Communism gather to seize Westkreuz and Charlottenburg stations." Bloody battles raged around the stations as the Big Four Foreign Ministers gathered in Paris to discuss the German peace settlement. The *New York Times* reported that during one fight a station changed hands four times, and the British authorities ordered the Western sector police to take possession after an estimated 2,000 boys, some reported to be between eight and sixteen, captured the station. (Boys of that age were not employed by the railway; this is an age group reported to be much under the sway of Nazi ideas.) While this was going on, American Commandant Howley declared his support of the strikers over the radio.

On May 24, the *New York Times* reported that Vice Mayor Ferdinand Friedensberg of Berlin told the U.S. press, "You cannot have an enemy power on your land and still have peace." A representative of what is still technically an enemy country was speaking of our wartime ally. British and American officials backed up Friedensberg when he ordered the Soviet controlled railway police to leave Western Berlin and then had them fired upon.

On May 31, the Soviet City Railway Administration reached agreement with the legitimate Railwaymen's Union to pay all workers residing in the Western sectors 60 per cent of their wages in Western marks, but the UGO refused to accept this, and were backed up by the U.S. and British authorities, who continued to pay them strike benefits.

But on June 28, after the conclusion of the Paris Foreign Ministers' sessions, the authorities of the U.S., British and French zones ordered the end of the six weeks' strike on *precisely these terms*, in addition, agreeing to exchange the 40 per cent balance of wages received in East marks for West marks. All but 2 per cent of the strikers immediately returned to work on Western orders. Thus, the anti-Soviet political strike engineered by the Western authorities came to an end.

Hardly had the strike been settled, when a new furore was raised over the Soviet authorities legitimate exercise of control over trucks entering Berlin from the Western zones. It had been found that some of these trucks were bringing in large quantities of Western marks for black market operations. This was played down by the press and Western officials, who tried to make it appear that the Soviet Union was re-imposing the "blockade" in violation of the New York agreement.

The Atlantic Pact and the Arms Program

TWENTY-FOUR HOURS AFTER HIS RETURN FROM THE FOREIGN Ministers' Conference Secretary Acheson, pursuing the Administration policy of disparaging its results, was telling the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that failure to obtain agreement on the unification of Germany made it essential to push through the North Atlantic Pact and the Arms Program at this session of Congress.

The Senate debate on the Pact opened on July 5, amid prophecies that there would be only a few opposing votes, and that debate would end in a few days. As we go to press debate has been protracted far beyond expectations, opposition has mounted, and while it appears that the two-thirds vote necessary for ratification will be forthcoming, an even

(Continued on page 25)



Paul Robeson receives flowers and acclaim at a concert in the open-air Green Theater in Moscow's famous Gorky Park of Culture and Rest.

Paul Robeson's Soviet Journey

An Interview

by AMY SCHECHTER

PAUL ROBESON has all the attributes of the folk hero—not the solemn windy Wagnerian imitation, but the salty kind that comes from the people and sticks close by them.

He has the size and voice, the strength and will to do mighty deeds, the courage and singleness of purpose.

The people recognize this quality in him! Here in America, in Europe where from England eastward they turned his recent journey into a triumphal procession; and in the Soviet Union the June issues of the Soviet press, reporting the singer's appearances, have a special affection and an appreciation of this quality, over and above the admiration for him as a great artist.

An interview with Paul Robeson is not an orthodox affair. There is no series of impressions and facts and figures. He shoots ideas at you, counterposes other ideas, or slowly probes an idea, or unfolds a panorama of significant incidents. Impressions placed side by side may be ten or fifteen years apart in their genesis—say Moscow today "the most beautiful city in the world," and Moscow as the singer saw it in 1938 when its people were tense with the knowledge that fascism was advancing over Europe and they would have to fight; or maybe thousands of miles apart in space, say Moscow and the tobacco fields of North Carolina, which this great and free late-born son of a Negro born in slavery knew as a motherless child and knows as his sharecropper cousins see it today.

He sees a country or people not as a journalist, but as a musician and poet. You get the same approach in his great Harlem homecoming speech—"the road has been long; the road has been hard"—with its symphonic quality, that has reached all across America.

An example of the way an interview goes: Speaking of earlier visits to the Soviet Union, and the profound influence the things he found there exercised in shaping his life as a Negro fighter for freedom, Robeson suddenly switched back to the poetry of Nekrassov of the 1850's.

There was complete relevance in this seeming irrelevance. Nekrassov wrote powerful verse depicting conditions in the Russian estates and villages of serf days.

Reading these verses and other literature of serf days, he suddenly began to see "the deep meaning of the Russian people having their destiny in their own hands."

"I read Nekrassov's old poems," he says, "about the Russian village, the serfs tilling their masters' fields . . . everyone would swear that he was writing about the South today. I began to see the connection between the freedom of the serf and the freedom of the American Negro. It is tremendously important to see this great nation, these people who could have been Negroes in the South, to see how they have become a great nation."

Here Robeson expresses a basic truth about the special meaning of the Soviet

Union for him, and for all the Negro people.

The editors of the conservative Baltimore *Afro-American* saw this truth when they took up the cudgels recently for the Negro leader against the campaign of vilification touched off when he made his historic statement at the Paris Peace Conference that his people would refuse to support an imperialist war against the Soviet Union. The editors gently but firmly advised the young Negro baseball star, Jackie Robinson, to stick to his baseball and refuse to appear against Robeson before the Un-American Committee.

The newspaper wrote:

"When Paul Robeson said he is not willing to fight against Russia, he is not thinking about himself. He is not thinking about Russia."

"He is thinking about millions of colored people in the South who can't vote, who are terrorized by mobs at the least provocation, and cannot get a decent job or a decent education."

Asked about the Soviet Union as he saw it only a few weeks ago, in its fourth year of peace, Robeson hammered at the point that it was meaningless to talk about his Soviet journey unless he first gave the background. This consists of Europe as he saw it in the months before he went to Moscow this last time, as well as the America he had left.

Western Europe: London streets filled with soldiers, letters in the newspapers from mothers protesting against their sons being sent to fight in Malaya

and other lands; everywhere, in France, Norway, Sweden, Italy, the same acute sense of the danger of war and horror of war and longing for peace. The growing hatred of Atlantic Pact domination; and the strained watching for signs of progressive America . . . "just as we waited for the resistance in France," he says. The tremendous ovations he received everywhere, the outpouring of warmth and love (there is no record of a singer received in this way, except perhaps Chaliapin in his great days when he was still on the side of the future), always, he insisted repeatedly "because I came as a progressive American and Negro defending peace . . . and I was for the Soviet Union."

This is clearly the truth; but it is also true that this great singer in a special way embodies this America, and could project it for the people in Europe with all the force of his magnificent personality.

The thing works both ways: many returning in past months from the Paris Peace Conference and journeys through the People's Democracies have tried to describe what they saw with varying success; but Robeson seems to have drawn the vigor and hope of the new-world-coming into himself. At the great Harlem homecoming meeting held by the Council of African Affairs he made his audiences live his experience in these and Soviet lands; and his deep beautiful voice, in late years sometimes roughened and tired and with a special loneliness beyond what he sang, had an amazing triumphant quality, and came across full, clear, fresh, easy, mellow, and the people's songs he had sung many times were new songs.

After Western Europe, Robeson went on through the People's Democracies, which he had visited before when they were already fascist-dominated territory. There was Czechoslovakia. "A beautiful country. I had been there many times before," he said, "but now the main thing was the people—the country belonged to them suddenly."

In Poland, the buildings laid waste, the Ghetto, nothing but complete ruins. "If you want to see what fascism can do, walk through Poland," he said. "But you see people laughing and smiling, building bridges with their bare hands because American capital won't send big machines. The buildings are going up. I ate much better in all these places, I ate with workers, it was better than the best hotel that I visited in London."

Then: "I arrived in Russia against this background of struggle all across Europe. I was very deeply moved when I realized I was flying into the Soviet Union. I could see what this freedom had done in Poland, in Czechoslovakia. I came back to the Soviet Union as part

of the American progressive movement and from the Negro people of America.

"I, as an American, my roots deeply here, have a complete right to say what I feel so deeply about the Soviet Union. They saved civilization. Roosevelt's letter is right there in Stalingrad for everyone to see":

In the name of the people of the United States of America I present this scroll to the City of Stalingrad to commemorate our admiration for its gallant defenders, whose courage, fortitude and devotion during the siege of September 13, 1943, will inspire forever the hearts of all free people.

Their glorious victory stemmed the tide

do. I say it without question—I saw a new type of human being created. Everything is moving. The warmth, the sureness, the knowledge that they are a great people building a new life.

"I never saw such a beautiful city as Moscow today," he continued. "The correspondents—the turn-coats," there was deep disgust in his voice. "I don't see how they have the nerve to lie about the Soviet Union the way they do. How can you find a great people you love and then suddenly turn against them?"

It was on one of the recent infernally hot humid days that Robeson sat and



Yuri Zavodsky, director of the Moscow Theater, talks to Robeson at a reception given in honor of the singer.

of the invasion and marked the turning point in the war of the Allied Nations against the forces of aggression.

"If not for the Soviet people, civilization might have been destroyed completely.

"At the Stalingrad plant I saw how tens of thousands, Communists and non-Communists, work on the production of tractors. Trainloads of powerful machines are daily being sent to the fields, bringing happiness and abundance to the working class. Are the builders of these machines criminals? In that case what would be those whose plants are turning out tanks for the destruction of the people of Viet-Nam, Greece, Indonesia, Malaya?

"When I was in the USSR last, in 1938, they knew they would have to fight fascism. . . . This was a terrible thing for them, having to get ready to fight."

Now in 1949, Robeson saw the signs of Nazi destruction, but in the people there was no sign of self-pity that is such a feature of Nazi Germany.

"They have suffered, but they were sure of themselves, they were warm and human, thinking only of building a new life.

"I saw there what a way of life can

talked about Europe and America and the Soviet Union. Listening and watching the big man sitting there in his shirt sleeves, talking in an easy sort of way but dead earnest, the whole thing seemed familiar and, thinking back, I realized it was just like sitting and listening to some good union man talk in a wooden hillside Miners' Hall with the blue fires burning on the high slag heap opposite, or in the old San Francisco longshore hiring hall off the Embarcadero. The same singleness of purpose, directness, hatred for oppression and oppressors, honest disgust with the scab and stool-pigeon types, and sureness about what the issues are and who has to and is going to win.

"It's just staggering to see the wealth in the Soviet Union," continued Robeson the artist and man of broad culture.

"I go to *Prince Igor*. Here it would be a show place. But someone said: 'We didn't have our best *Igor* tonight.' They applauded politely. It was just a run of the mill performance for them.

"I went to Gogol's *The Inspector General* at the Maly Theater. It was a show actors here would be sent to see many times. There, it was just another usual and ordinary performance.

"The level of art in the Soviet Union

is so far away from anything we can possibly see in this country that we can't begin to compare it, so I don't want to hear any more nonsense about the freedom of the artist."

"And the singers!" he said. "At one of our concerts, at the last moment, a singer came in from a factory, a young girl. She had this pure Ukrainian folk voice, but still a voice that knows what it's doing . . . in the middle of all those opera singers."

Here was a typical instance of Soviet democratic culture in action, the young factory girl, singing for a great audience at a gala concert of top Soviet professional musicians, not as a curiosity, but as an artist among artists, perfectly at home "in the middle of all those opera singers."

The status of the national minorities in the Soviet Union has always been of special interest to Robeson, from the angle of the Negro people here and in Africa and of other colonial peoples.

While he was in Moscow, a huge

the existence of complete racial equality in the Soviet Union, is that there are only a handful of Negroes in the whole land any way, so equality has no meaning.

Robeson put the finger on this argument. There are of course tens of millions of dark peoples there who would be vigorously Jim-Crowded in the United States.

"Take the peoples of Georgia," he said. "The people you see in Tiflis; they are very dark, like the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans; and there are millions of yellow people—I have seen how the Chinese are treated in San Francisco.

"These Kazakh people, for example, had the same problems as the Negroes in the South today. They are the sort of people indicated in Mr. Truman's fourth point—the 'backward people' who have to be exploited.

"But in the Soviet Union everything has been done for the development of these nationalities. That is one of the greatest contributions of the Soviet

son had been over there at the time, had spent a great deal of his time with Jewish people, since there are so many in the art, music and theater worlds in Moscow and elsewhere, had seen absolutely no indication or heard any word of any anti-Semitic trend, actions, or moods, and was puzzled and furious at the charges.

"It is the most absurd thing," he said. "How could there be anything like that in the Soviet Union, when it is built on the base of equal nationalities? I met Jewish people all over the place, in the city administrations, in the theaters, among the musicians, among engineers and workers in the factory. I heard no word about it. How could there be anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union?"

"I sang *The Song of the Warsaw Ghetto*. I sang it in Yiddish. People wept. People came over to shake my hand—Jewish people talking Yiddish came up to me, and Jewish people and others talking Russian, too."

Seeing him, a Negro, on the streets, time after time there would be spontaneous demonstrations of the people's friendship and affection.

"You'd see thousands of people on the streets. They'd gather, round me, they'd cry 'Take our greetings to the progressive people of America.'

"They'd say: 'You must stay with us.' But I'd tell them I had to go back, and they'd understand.

"There was always inherent their tremendous gratitude at seeing someone from the progressive side of America. It's extremely important that I was able to mean this to people," he said, "to mobilize people in Europe, for them to say there in the Soviet Union that this was a real illustration of the artist becoming one with the people."

The beginnings of Robeson's wide and sensitive knowledge of the Soviet Union that is firmly based on his several journeys there and his extensive study of the Russian language and literature as well as its music and theater, stem back to his first trip in 1934.

"It was like standing on another planet," he says. "I suddenly realized I was a full human being for the first time in my existence, and this has been emphasized every time I went back there."

Studying his own country with his new understanding of what a people once enslaved were attaining, studying his own people, Robeson began to realize more clearly how the way lay for his people.

"It was in 1939 that I came to see so clearly the tie between the Negro and the workers; I saw much more clearly after I had been in the Soviet Union that the Negro people must come to identify

(Continued on page 24)



Robeson with Peter Blackman, distinguished writer from Jamaica, attend the Pushkin Festival in the House of Unions.

Kazakh Art Festival was held; writers, artists, musicians as well as folk singers, brought fruits of their cultural achievements to the Soviet capital, reaching, in the opinion of observers, a high level in a number of fields.

"I talked to anthropologists in London and New York about the peoples of Africa. They said: 'It'll be a thousand years before you can do anything.' And I saw the Kazakhs in Moscow. It's a tremendous thing that these people could be there with their literature, music, theater—not after a thousand years, but in hardly one generation. One of the Kazakh artists sang at my concert. There was special feeling among the audience when I embraced this woman from Kazakhstan."

One of the arguments of persons who are anti-Soviet, but are unable to deny

Union. Here, capitalism would like to use the colonial peoples to prop up its declining years, while there they show proudly the level that can be reached in one generation."

The People's Democracies are also becoming an important factor in the education of these "backward peoples," Robeson remarked. There are many students from Viet Nam, from the South Pacific and other colonial countries studying in Prague, many African students have also switched to Prague from London. The complete unity of the struggle of all the colonial peoples with the European peoples' struggle is becoming more clearly understood daily.

I inquired about the charges of anti-Semitism that were made in the concentrated campaign in *News Week*, the *World Telegram*, *Post*, *Times*, etc. Robe-

Midsummer in Moscow

by RALPH PARKER

THE WHOLE audience of some twelve thousand people rose to acclaim Paul Robeson as he crossed the stage of the Green Theater, because Moscow had really taken this great American to its heart, and this concert in the Maxim Gorky Park of Culture and Rest was something more than a musical event, was a tribute to that America that the Soviet people admire and respect and are always ready to applaud.

Robeson was in Moscow as a guest for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Pushkin. I had sensed the ripple of excitement that stirred the public when, with other guests from abroad, Robeson had taken his place in the Bolshoy Theater before a gigantic portrait of the poet whose sensuous, manly and thoroughly original genius made Russian poetry an independent power, and whose admirable novels paved the way for the great realists of later generations.

Robeson's hosts had suggested he give two concerts. He offered to sing eight, though he was certainly tired after his strenuous European tour. And so he sang in the beautiful Chaikovsky Concert Hall, in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatory, from whose walls look down the portraits of the leading composers of Russia and the West, in the Palace of Culture of the Stalin Automobile Plant, and finally in the Green Theater before leaving for Stalingrad. There were many students at the Green Theater, taking a respite from examinations in the cool of an evening beside the Moskva River, and after the concert they linked arms and walked through the park singing the ballad of Joe Hill, which Robeson dedicated to the twelve American Communists on trial, Water Boy, and some of the Soviet songs that Robeson had sung in Russian. (To return the compliment, a balalaika orchestra played Ol' Man River.) They had listened to him with their hearts as well as with their ears.

The Meaning—Friendship

What did these cheers, this welcome, mean, I asked myself? The answer, I think, lies in the description of Robeson chosen by an evening newspaper. It called him the Singer-Tribune. However severe the criticism of the reactionary



Paul Robeson speaking from the rostrum at the special Pushkin Session of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

elements in American life that is being voiced in several current plays and films, the public has never lost sight of the healthy, peace-loving element. What Hollywood producer, one wonders, would dream of ending a movie, as Alexandrov's *Meeting on the Elbe* ends, with the words "Friendship between the American and Soviet people, that is the greatest task for humanity today!"? Before Robeson sang, an actor from the Maly Theater had read a monologue from Konstantin Simonov's *The Russian Question* where a progressive New York journalist defies

his editor by declaring his faith in the America of Lincoln and Jefferson, of Washington and Roosevelt. To his Moscow audience, Robeson epitomized this optimistic, combative, humane current in American life. They cheered him for what he stands for and because he is brave enough to raise his beautiful, warm, friendly noble voice for peace, for justice and for truth.

Pushkin, is being honored too, for the humane spirit that breathes through his work. One of the poet's works printed in the Soviet press during the anniversary celebrations is a fragment entitled "John Tanner," taken from a review by Pushkin of *The Notes of John Tanner* published in New York in 1830. The fragment begins by saying that for some time the North American States have been attracting the attention of the most thoughtful people in Europe. It continued: "With astonishment they have seen democracy in its repulsive cynicism, in its cruel prejudices, in its unbearable tyranny. Everything noble and unselfish, everything that elevates the human soul has been crushed by an inexorable egoism and passion for comfort . . . the slavery of the Negroes amidst culture of liberty. . . . Such is the picture of the American States recently exhibited before us."

The fragment goes on to refer to the treatment of the Indian tribes in America by the white settlers and the American Congress and says of *The Notes of John Tanner*: "Chronicles of illiterate tribes, they shed true light upon what certain philosophers call the natural state of man; simple-minded and impartial testimony that will bear witness before the world at last as to the means which the American States have employed in the 19th century for the dissemination of their dominion and Christian civilization."

Paul Robeson's presence at the meetings in honor of the man who wrote those words, himself the descendent of an African who was given his liberty by Peter I and rose to the rank of General in the Russian Army, had a point which few here failed to grasp.

Not since before the war have there been so many foreign visitors in the Soviet Union. Numerically, the groups of Eastern European peasants studying So-

RALPH PARKER, former "New York Times" Moscow correspondent, now writes from Moscow for London and other newspapers. His latest book, "Moscow Correspondent," has just been published in England.

viet agricultural methods, head the list. This evening, as I crossed Sverdlov Square I saw the unusual sight of some 150 of them, Romanians, many of them in costumes of the Regat, gathering before going into the Hotel Metropole. There have been at least three similar groups from Poland. These visitors are representatives of a peasantry which has received land in postwar land reform and is now moving towards various forms of cooperative management of the land in order to introduce scientific farming methods. Their presence is a symbol of the breaking-down of the artificial barriers that before the war denied Eastern and Southeastern Europe's peasants knowledge of the benefits that have flowed to the workers on the land in the Soviet Union.

That stalwart fighter for social justice, Martin Andersen Nexø, came to spend the close of the eightieth year of his life in Moscow, and was greeted with real affection. I was anxious to hear the Danish novelist's impressions of Moscow, for he spent several months in the Soviet capital in 1945, as well as having seen it in various stages of growth before the war.

We met in his hotel suite with windows framing a view that stretched to the Lenin Mausoleum, with a glimpse of the bulbous cupolas of Basil the Blessed beyond it—"some chisled in facets, others banded, this one with diamond-point shapes like pineapples, another with spiral stripes, and still others incrustated with shells, or lozenges, or honey-comb patterns" as Theophile Gautier wrote of this astonishing church in the Red Square in his *Travels in Russia*. Across Mokhavaya Square and running out of sight beyond Alexandrovsky Park, the West wall of the Kremlin glowed with a warm deep pink which lies in unusual juxtaposition with the honeyed gold of the early nineteenth century building just within its fretted top. And on the left rose new Moscow, its buildings respectful

of the historic setting and more or less successfully striking a mean which does not offend.

Moscow a City of Color

Nexø referred particularly to the increase in color of Moscow. Its people and most of its buildings had been fairly drab as he remembered it before the war, and in 1945 dilapidation and wartime stringencies had brought a certain uniform shabbiness. Today, as he saw it, Moscow was one of the brightest of cities, brilliantly lit, gaily dressed, and with so many new buildings.

I have recently had an opportunity of sharing the impressions of a group of English women who were visiting the Soviet Union for the first time. They were the guests of the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee, and their hosts had arranged a program when they had heard what the English women wanted to see. From early morning until late at night they carried out searching investigations into Soviet educational, industrial and administrative life, were able to question ministers of the government, leaders of industry, and experts. No official junketing was allowed to interrupt a tour in which the visitors' curiosity was met everywhere with the utmost frankness.

In a preliminary summing-up of their impressions, the delegates referred to the high degree of knowledge on international affairs shown by rank and file workers by whom they were frequently questioned in factories and other institutions visited. They had been greatly impressed by the facilities provided in industry to enable women workers to study and improve their skill, and by the complete absence of social barriers between intellectual and manual workers, which makes it quite normal that a woman factory worker should be married to someone engaged in academic work and vice versa.

The burning desire for peace has



Danish writer Martin Andersen Nexø with his wife in Alexandrovsky Park, in Moscow.

been impressed on these visitors wherever they go. I was present at a moving scene in Moscow Cathedral one day. The morning office had ended when we arrived, but there were still a fair number of worshippers in the vast cathedral, waiting their turn to file past the relics of a saint, before which thousands of tiny candles gleamed. A group of some forty or fifty people, mostly women, crowded round the visitors, and when they learned that they were from England, their first questions were to ask what was being done there to prevent another war.

"I am seventy years old, a pensioner," one woman said. She wore a black muslin scarf bound tightly around her lined, old but intensely vivid face. "I worked eleven hours a day during the war. I gave two of my grandchildren. I contributed my savings. And mind you, I would do as much again were this country to be attacked. But for God's sake let there be peace."

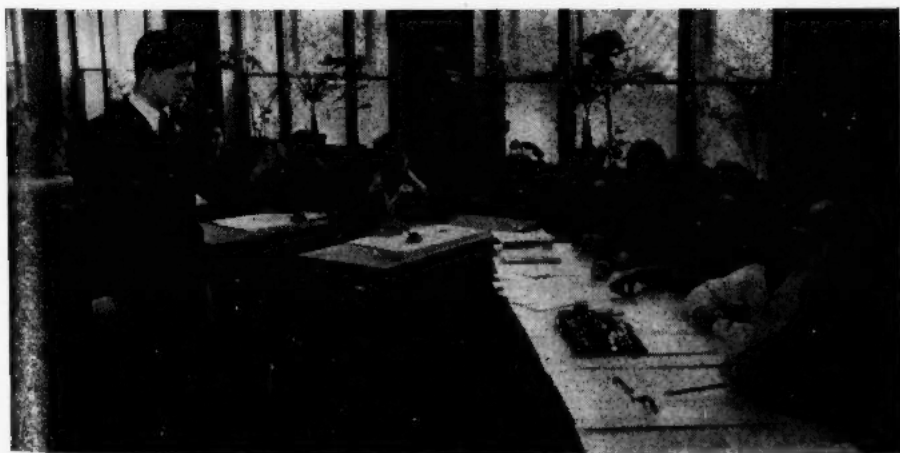
"It makes you feel ashamed," one of the English visitors murmured as we left the Cathedral. She is a staunch supporter of the Labor Government, and a member of Parliament.

School Exams

Unexpectedly, we found ourselves beside the examiners in a school where girls of the last grade, seventeen years old, were taking their physics oral test. Physics is an obligatory subject for both boys and girls till the last grade, and the physics laboratories are usually

(Continued on page 27)

A student takes his oral exams in literature, part of which consists of the recitation and analysis of a poem by Mayakovsky.



The Meaning of the Lysenko Controversy

by

BERNARD FRIEDMAN

THE CORRESPONDENCE received by *Soviet Russia Today* as a result of my article in the January issue on *Lysenko's Contribution to Biology* reveals that the readers have been in the main concerned with the political aspects of the genetics controversy.

One correspondent asks, "Is it true that the Soviet Union is putting to death scientists who disagree with Lysenko's theory of genetics?"

Another writes, "Was a conclusion for what offers itself as research imposed by authority?"

Other letters are in the same vein, reflecting the basic lack of sufficient discussion in these pages as to the Soviet Government's attitude toward science in general, and to those scientists who disagree with Lysenko in particular. Furthermore, practically every article on Lysenko that has appeared in other publications in this country has attempted to sow confusion on precisely this aspect of the debate.

It has been correctly pointed out by some of the letters received that this

BERNARD FRIEDMAN has been teaching biology for fifteen years and has published research in cytology on a Carnegie Research Foundation grant.



Academician D. Dolgushin (left, foreground) shows branched variety of wheat to participants of the Session of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences. This wheat was grown in the Academy's experimental fields in Gorki, near Moscow.

problem is of paramount importance today, because failure to understand the attitude of the Soviet Government adversely affects American-Soviet relations and the possibility of achieving world peace. Those who are interested in raising the temperature of the cold war are making much of the so-called destruction of scientific truth and freedom in the USSR and many well-meaning individuals have become confused and disturbed.

Lysenko initiated the genetics controversy by criticizing Mendelian geneticists because of their failure to effectively contribute to agricultural practice in the USSR. Although all of Lysenko's opponents, both here and in the USSR, have conceded his tremendous practical contributions, they have failed to understand the theoretical problems raised by the failure of genetics to pass the test of practice. Inability to solve the problems created by society exposes the limitations of any scientific theory. Science arises because of man's attempt to master his environment and is constantly being tested by the extent of mastery achieved and the appearance of new problems.

Classical genetics, which affirms the existence of a "special heredity substance" independent of the rest of the organism, denies the possibilities of changing the nature of organisms in a desired direction by altering their conditions of life. The Michurin-Lysenko biologists achieved the "impossible" by discarding that theory and setting out on new paths. Their importance lay primarily in the fact that they made significant contributions to the Soviet economy.

It was no accident that this revolution in biology took place in the Soviet Union, and not elsewhere. The capitalist countries are not deeply concerned with problems of increasing agricultural production. We are all familiar with the destruction of surplus food commodities to maintain their market value. Research in the fields of chemistry and engineering is emphasized to serve the needs of the monopolies who are the major source of financial support for science. Today, American scientists find the greatest opportunity for employment, not in agriculture to solve the problem of increasing the world's food supply, but in various phases of military research.

Lysenko, on the other hand, began his activity in the early 1930's when the problem of overcoming food shortages was a major one in the USSR. The vigor of his attack on classical genetics was conditioned by the tremendous need of the Soviet people. If, as some seem to feel, he lashed out too sharply, this does not alter the validity of his argument.

Because of the constant distortion of Lysenko's position, it must be re-emphasized that his criticism is not leveled at the experimental facts established by genetic studies, the existence of genes and chromosomes and their role in the organism. The claim of Soviet biologists is that the *theory* that these genes and chromosomes live a life of their own, separate and apart from the rest of the organism, and that therefore characteristics acquired by the organism during its growth and development cannot be inherited, goes be-

(Continued on page 29)

British Trade Unionists Visit the USSR

**Impressions of British Delegates to the
Tenth Soviet Trade Union Congress**

by HENRY LEVITT

Treasurer of the London Trades Council

MOSCOW certainly looked good to me. I had not expected, in view of the damage sustained by the Soviet Union in the war, that the degree of recovery would be as marked as I found it.

Londoners would be delighted if our shops were as full of food as the shops of Moscow. Eggs, butter, sugar, ham, milk and ordinary groceries were plentiful. The stores were crowded with housewives doing their shopping, obviously well supplied with money. There was nothing in the shops out of reach of their pockets. In other shops, crockery, coffee percolators, electric irons and kettles, and other goods were on sale at prices well within the means of ordinary workers.

The streets literally teemed with well-dressed workers. I noticed a most substantial improvement in clothing standards compared with ten years ago, when I was last in Moscow. Clothing, then, both as to cut and quality, was not up to our standards; Soviet textiles generally were not at that time of the highest standard. Now, in spite of the disruption of the war years, the people are very well dressed; both quality and style of clothing for men and women is very high indeed. The average woman, particularly, is very smartly dressed in clothes of really good quality.

It was also particularly noticeable that Soviet workers are able to buy their own cars, for the streets were packed

with cars of all descriptions, being driven by workers to and from their places of work.

The Moscow Soviet has made tremendous strides with its rehousing schemes, although there is, of course, a good deal of housing in a big city like Moscow that is still not satisfactory. But here again, despite the war, there has been great activity. The proportion of new houses to old is now very much higher than in 1939, and increasing numbers of people are being provided with modern housing of a very high standard.

Building is going on at an accelerated rate. Blocks of apartments that I saw as projects on the city's plans in 1939 are now accomplished facts. Wholesale use of major appliances such as big central cranes and mass supply of bricks and timber have resulted in big apartment houses being completed in large numbers. Harry Weaver [see his article on the next page] and I had a personal experience of the speed of these Soviet construction jobs. At half-past eight one morning we visited a job. They were just installing the large main doors, and had still to finish the entrance arch. The windows weren't in. All round the building there were the piles of dirt and debris that surround a building site. Late in the afternoon we went there again. The door and the arch were finished. The windows were in. The surroundings had been cleared up and paved, and trees had been planted. Harry Weaver still hasn't got over that—*trees had been planted*.

During our stay, we were invited to broadcast. After all that we had heard about restrictions and censorship, you can imagine our feelings when our offer to prepare a script beforehand, so that it could be looked over, was politely refused. We were asked to walk straight up to the microphone and to broadcast what we wanted to say. There wasn't the slightest censorship. How many people would be given a similar privilege by the BBC? Not many! (Turn page)

In April, the Soviet trade unions invited the Trades Union Congress in England to send fraternal delegates to the Soviet Tenth Trade Union Congress, and the London and Manchester and Salford Councils to send fraternal delegates to Moscow's May Day celebrations. The London Trades Council sent Henry Levitt and Harry Weaver whose articles, taken from "Russia Today" published in England, we are offering as interesting comments from experienced trade union observers. The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress declined to send any delegates to the USSR.

Auto Workers' Club House



Entrance to the Stalin Automobile Plant's Palace of Culture, which contains over 100 rooms and halls, including a theater seating 1,100. Last year 1,500 lectures were given and were attended by over 200,000 people.



A reading room (above) in the library, which has over 100,000 volumes and 17 branches in the various shops of the Plant. Exhibit room (below) displays Stakhanovite methods. (Additional photos on the following pages.)





A scene from A. Ospensky's "In Our Days," performed by the Palace of Culture's drama circle. The circle has its own costume shop and a wardrobe with thousands of costumes.



The band (above) is directed by V. A. Shcherbinin, professor at the Moscow Conservatory, and consists of 75 musicians. Below: The accordion ensemble rehearsing for a concert.



Among the places we visited in Moscow was one of the bakeries that provide the city with its daily bread. The bread was white, of a high quality that we have not known in London since the war. It was made and baked by machinery, and untouched by hand from start to finish. The bakery itself was clean, airy and well lit. It provides employment for some 700 people, working under the best possible conditions. As the work is entirely mechanized, it is classed as light labor, and the majority of employees are women, apart from the maintenance staff.

Attached to this bakery is a kindergarten where the workers' children are looked after during the day. It was a truly joyous sight to see these tiny tots under three years old fast asleep in their little cots, in rooms specially provided for them. In another room, kiddies slightly older were being taught various national dances of the Soviet Union, and it was a very pleasant experience to see these little toddlers dance to a very lively tune on the piano. They performed a Ukrainian folk dance; and it was amusing to see the look on their faces when a small boy, not being so fully rehearsed as the others, made one or two mistakes, bringing down on himself a friendly reprimand from his fellow performers. The children seemed completely happy and tranquil in their surround-

by **HARRY WEAVER**

*London Divisional
gamated Union of*

AS A FRATERNAL delegate from the London Trades Council to the Moscow May Day celebrations I took the opportunity of visiting the Tenth All-Union Congress of Soviet Trade Unions. I was present at almost every session in the Kremlin from the first to the last. Sitting in the balcony, I was able to satisfy myself on a number of questions which have been the subject of some doubt and much downright misrepresentation in Britain.

I would like to say, right here at the beginning, that it is a pity that the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in Britain did not accept the invitation extended to them to send fraternal delegates. But then—"There's none so blind as those who will not see."

Like everyone else in England, I had received the impression from our newspapers that the countries of Eastern Europe, and particularly the Soviet Union, were shrouded in secrecy behind the "Iron Curtain," and that to penetrate the Kremlin was quite impossible. My three weeks in the USSR forced me to the conclusion that the "Iron Curtain" is a Fleet Street

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

ings; and the adults in charge and responsible for them were obviously happy in the job and on the best of terms with the children.

Equally impressive was a short visit we paid to the Stalin Automobile Plant, where we met the director, a man of high capacity and integrity. He used to be a fitter in the plant, and commanded the respect of his assistants who all clearly held their jobs by virtue of their ability. Watching the workers in the factory, we could see that every modern device for lightening the burden of the workers was in use. The result was that here they had speed without "speed-up." We saw no signs of rush on the part of the workers nor antipathy towards those holding supervisory positions.

Attached to this plant is a large factory school where apprentices are trained, to provide new workers and senior personnel. Every young worker is encouraged and given every opportunity to attend the school in order to prepare for a career.

Associated with the plant is a great Palace of Culture. The cultural side of the work of Soviet trade unions is exemplified here. It is housed in a magnificent building that would be a creditable enterprise for a large municipality. In this case it is entirely at the disposal of
(Continued on page 27)

ER
nal Secretary of the Amal-
of Mining Trades Workers

invention, designed deliberately to mislead the British people. For eight days, during the Congress, I was passing in and out of the Kremlin several times a day, and I was able to wander about the streets and shops of Moscow freely without an escort.

"What is it like inside the Kremlin?" I have been asked many times since getting back. Well, I think the Kremlin Hall, in which the Congress sessions were held, must be the finest in the world. It can seat 1,500 people, each with a desk and earphones. Every word can be heard, and notes can be taken in comfort. At the Tenth Congress 1,300 delegates were present, representing 28,500,000 trade unionists, organized in 67 trade unions. They were of all ages, both sexes, and of diverse nationalities; and all trades and professions were represented.

Vassili Kuznetsov, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, who was brought up in Canada and once worked in Ford's factories in Detroit, gave the main report to the Congress. His speech had two main themes: firstly, the organization of increased pro-

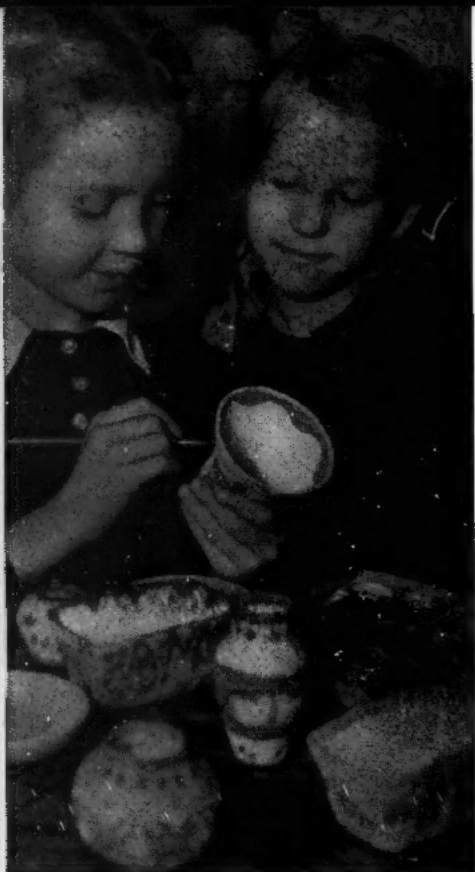


The auto workers have classes in painting (above), sculpture and drawing. Below: A pupil in the plant's training school devotes his leisure to sculpture in wood.

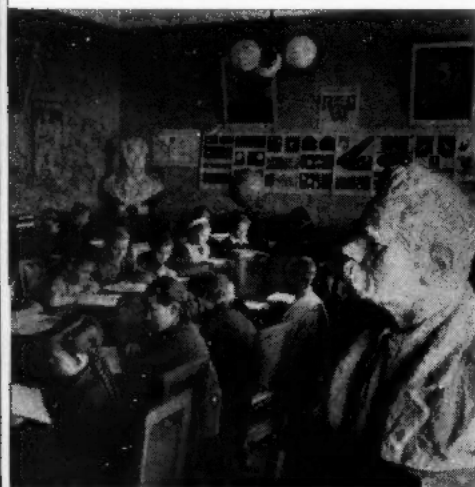


This is the women's dance circle (below), one of several in the auto worker's Palace of Culture. (Additional pictures of the Palace will be found on the next page.)





A substantial part of the Palace is devoted to the children of the auto workers. They have their own theater seating 275, and many rooms for their circles. These girls are members of the handicrafts circle.



Many of the youngsters are attracted to the library (above) which has a rich collection of children's literature. The children below call themselves "young naturalists" and are members of the biology circle.



ductivity to provide for an ever higher standard of living for the Soviet people; and secondly, the need to foster peace and friendship with the trade unionists and people of the rest of the world, with particular emphasis on international trade union unity.

Kuznetsov's report showed that the war-devastated industry of the Soviet Union has been completely restored, and that there is now a new and rapid growth in the output of industry, which is already 18 per cent higher than pre-war. Tremendous efforts are being made to increase mechanization of industry to reduce and eliminate heavy labor. Forty per cent of all specialists and technicians in industry, he reported, are women, and equal pay for equal work is the law for men, women and youth. The eight-hour day is enforced by law; and no young person under 18 years of age is allowed to work more than six hours a day.

During 1948, there was an 83 per cent increase in expenditure on social insurance over pre-war; and during this year it will reach 100 per cent. Kuznetsov levelled severe criticism at regional trade union committees for not having spent enough of the finances allocated them for welfare, sport, etc.

The response of the Soviet people to the Five-Year Plan was shown by the fact that almost every industry had overfulfilled its plan. A typical example was the group of miners who had overfulfilled their plan for coal by three times, and in addition, in their spare time had planted 5,000 trees and laid 1,093 yards of pavement as a contribution to improving the amenities of their home town. As a result of this tremendous constructive effort on the part of the Soviet people, their Government was able in March of this year to reduce prices for food and consumer goods by 10 to 30 per cent, and so, with one stroke, increased real wages and raised the standards of life of all the people.

Kuznetsov's report also showed that, with their planned Socialist economy, the Soviet people have done away forever with economic crises. They can look forward to an increasing standard of life, which can only be interrupted by war. It is a fact that this is the basis of the Soviet people's deep desire to maintain peace.

Following the report, I waited with interest to see whether the stories of dictatorship, and absence of democracy, in Soviet trade unions were true. I didn't wait long for the answer.

One of the first delegates to speak was a steelworker. After recounting the success of his plant in overfulfilling its plan, he proceeded to launch out in one of the fiercest and most devastating criticism of the leadership that I have ever heard at any conference during my 25 years' experience as a trade unionist. The basis

of his criticism was wrong allocation of steel to industry. The platform admitted the correctness of his criticism, and promised to rectify matters.

On the second day one of the delegates exceeded the time allocated to speakers. The chairman insisted that he leave the rostrum. The delegate protested that he had come all the way from Azerbaidzhan to say his piece and intended saying it. The delegates shouted from the floor "Let him finish," and the chairman gave way.

These are two incidents that proved beyond all doubt that vigorous criticism of leadership and policy is encouraged; and democracy in the Soviet trade unions is as great as in any other trade union movement in the world. Henry Levitt, Treasurer of the London Trades Council, who was my companion during the final days of the Congress, and who has attended many annual congresses of the TUC, agreed that the vigorous criticism and democratic procedure of the Soviet Congress was equal to, if not in advance of, that at the TUC. (Mr. Levitt's article appears on page 15.)

Another incident, that could only have happened in a Socialist country, is worthy of mention. The Congress proceedings were interrupted to receive a delegation from the Soviet Army, Navy and Air Force, bringing the greetings of the soldiers, sailors and airmen, and giving a pledge to defend the improved standards of living won for the Soviet people by the Soviet trade unions. Coming from a country where the armed forces have often been used to break strikes, and the police to break up working class demonstrations, I reflected on the vastly different role the armed forces play in defending the rights of the people in the Socialist Soviet Union.

During the eight days of the Congress I heard demands for alteration of wage agreements, changes in production methods, better ways of allocating social insurance and welfare funds, as well as praise for the leadership, appreciation of the improved standard of living, and expressions of pride in local, regional and national achievements.

I heard laborers, craftsmen, youth, women, actors, artists, and agricultural workers speak; both leaders and rank and file placed greatest emphasis on two major issues—constructive effort to improve the economic and cultural standards of the people, and extension of ties of friendship with peoples throughout the world for maintaining peace.

The lesson I learned at the Tenth Congress of Soviet Trade Unions was this—that if the Russian people love and admire their leaders (idolize them as our papers say), it is because those leaders have delivered the goods; and this cannot be said of the leaders in any capitalist country.

your QUESTIONS ANSWERED



by THEODORE
BAYER

On Private Property in the USSR

Question: In a group discussion of the Soviet Union, a variety of opinions have been expressed concerning the right of ownership of private property. I would very much like you to clarify the following questions: What forms of property exist in the Soviet Union? Is private property permitted in the Soviet Union? B. B., Norfolk, Va.

Answer: The forms of property ownership conform to the socialist organization of the economy of the Soviet Union. The forms of property there differ significantly from those prevalent in capitalist countries. The predominant form of property ownership in the Soviet Union is public ownership—all the means of production and transportation, the plants, mines and railroads, the land, its natural deposits, forests and waters, are owned by the people and managed according to a national plan by appropriate government agencies.

The second largest form of property ownership is cooperative or collective farm property. The dominant form there is the farmers' producing cooperative—the kolkhoz. The farmers band together in their respective areas to work the land collectively. The land is granted to them by the Soviet Government free and in perpetuity. In the kolkhoz all cooperators get paid for their individual work according to the amount of time and grade of work. In addition they divide among themselves on the same basis any surplus left over above costs and reserves. Farmers who are members of the cooperative own private homes with plots around them on which they raise their own vegetables, fruit, poultry and domestic animals. They are permitted to sell whatever surplus they have from the cultivation of their own plots and animals. The money so realized constitutes their own additional income.

Another form of cooperative ownership is the industrial cooperative, which while playing a subsidiary role in the economy as a whole, does make a substantial contribution to the total national production. These industrial cooperatives comprise groups of technicians and craftsmen who band together to produce primarily consumer goods. They operate with machines and material bought from government agencies. They function within the framework of the basic industrial plan for the country. These cooperatives pay their individual members according to the amount and quality of work performed. Any surplus remaining

after all costs, taxes and reserves are met is distributed proportionately. The industrial cooperative, like the farmers' cooperative, is manned entirely by members of the cooperative. They are not permitted to hire labor on which the cooperative could make a profit. Only in industry and transportation which operates directly under government agencies of the Soviet Union or any of its republics or municipalities, is labor employed and paid by wages or salaries. In industry, transportation and trade the workers, the technicians and the managers get a basic wage and progressive rates for piece-work.

The basic law of the Soviet Union permits individual farmers who have not entered a cooperative to continue farming on land allotted free by the state. These individual farmers are rapidly declining in number and they mainly exist now in the new Soviet areas.

All new capital for expanding production, transportation and trade is financed through the budget of the Soviet Union and through accumulation of surpluses of Socialist industry. The farmers' and industrial cooperatives also set aside part of their income for capital expansion. Under the conditions of public and cooperative ownership, there is no room left for private ownership or for private financial investments. There is no function left to what is known as private enterprise. Private enterprise is linked to the profit system which permits the hiring of labor and its exploitation for profit. Since this is expressly prohibited by the Constitution of the USSR, the institution of private property, property that can be exploited for personal gain, is nonexistent. All incomes of individuals are incomes received in compensation for work performed, and the accumulation of wealth by individuals is limited thereby.

Even though some incomes of highly skilled people, professionals and artists are considerably above the average income, they are nonetheless personally earned incomes. There are no unearned incomes derived from the exploitation of the efforts of other people. The only "unearned" or additional income that Soviet citizens can have are the services given them free by society as a whole. These include communal services, free medical services, educational and recreational facilities, stipends, subsidies, pensions, etc. These services are provided for by the Social Security Fund and in fact constitute supplementary income.

While the concept of private prop-

erty is completely alien to the Soviet citizen, there is a growing emphasis on personal property. The Soviet people, more and more as prosperity increases, divide their income into two parts. One part covers their current needs, that is the part they consume in food, clothing and shelter; the other is the part of their income that they convert into personal ownership; that is the acquiring of semi-durable and durable goods which may run from radios, refrigerators, pianos, jewelry to apartments in the city or a home in the suburbs or in the country. Such ownership is encouraged. As a matter of fact recent legislation in the Soviet Union establishes large, liberal term credits through municipal banks to encourage growing numbers of families to build their own homes. The Soviet people also have large reserves in the form of individually owned savings.

The right to personal property as distinct from private property in a socialist society has been discussed recently in both *Pravda* and *Izvestia* in their Question and Answer columns. Below we give excerpts which we believe will be of interest:

"The epoch-making importance of public ownership of the means of production consists in that it has created real material prerequisites for the abolition in the Soviet Union of the main contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private ownership of the means of production. It is a mighty factor for the abolition of the anarchy and spontaneity of production, devastating crises which are inherent in the capitalist system and for the transition to the conscious management of the laws of economic development. Conscious management of economic development takes the concrete form of planned management of the national economy in the Soviet state. . . .

"The progressive role of public property is expressed also in that it has created the material foundation for the successful realization of the Lenin-Stalin policy of friendship and co-operation among all people of the Soviet Union.

"While private ownership and capital," J. V. Stalin states, "inevitably separate people, fan national discord and intensify national oppression, collective ownership just as inevitably brings people closer together, undermines national discord and abolishes national oppression."

"The right of personal property of citizens of the USSR is the right to use their income and savings from

(Continued on page 27)

MARIA

A Short Story

by Y. BESSONOV



HER WORK FINISHED for the day, Maria went down to the river. On the low bank she paused, stuck her boat hook into the sand and sat down to rest on a dry log. The sun, the warm wind and the pungent odor of freshly cut aspen trees conjured up a succession of memories. She started on hearing the voice of the crew foreman from the next logging section.

"Hello, there, Maria!"

"Hello, Ivan Egorovich!"

The crew foreman sat down on the log beside her. "Plenty of water, thank goodness," he said. "Looks as if we'll have good rafting. Good to sit down for a bit in the sunshine and warm my bones; you wouldn't chase a soldier away, would you?"

"Why should I?" said Maria.

Lower down the river where the Vodla fell into Lake Onega the first steamer of the season emitted a long, triumphant blast. A shudder ran through Maria. Ivan Egorovich saw her face turn pale and watched her fingers travel blindly over her jacket and pause at her throat.

"The boat," she whispered.

"Yes, the boat," said Ivan Egorovich.

"The ice went early this year."

They both fell silent listening for the boat's siren to go again as though the sound held some grave portent.

Ivan Egorovich glanced at Maria out of the corner of his eye. He loved this woman. He had loved her for years,

long before she had become the wife of his best friend, Stepan Korozin, the region's most famous river driver. He admired everything about Maria—her independent air, her strength, her masculine approach to work and even her stern, unbending character.

Ivan Egorovich's pipe went out. He thrust it into his boot top, coughed and, as though continuing a conversation begun long before, remarked:

"Still waiting?"

"Yes," replied Maria without turning her head.

"No letters yet?"

"No, the last one came before you returned."

"Stepan told me," Ivan Egorovich went on after a pause, "to do what I could to help you, fix your fishing tackle perhaps, or do some repairs on the house. . . ."

"Thanks. I can manage myself."

"Yourself!" Ivan Egorovich broke in bitterly. "You like to do everything yourself. You're too proud, Maria. That's why you refuse my help."

"Tell me something about Stepan," Maria begged, stifling a sigh. "We women must always know all the details. Sometimes I wonder what he is like after the war and it seems to me that he must be the same, but perhaps he has changed altogether."

"Why should he change?" asked Ivan Egorovich. "He is just the same as he always was . . . except . . . obstinate. Once he gets something into his head, nothing can shake him. . . ."

"What has he got into his head?" Maria asked.

"Oh nothing worth talking about," replied Ivan Egorovich, rising to his feet. "Well, I'll be getting along."

"Just a minute, Ivan Egorovich, I want to ask you something."

The crew foreman sat down again on the log.

"You are keeping something from me," she said looking searchingly into Ivan Egorovich's eyes.

"I don't know what you mean," he muttered, avoiding her eyes, "I think I've told you everything."

"You saw Stepan after he was wounded, didn't you?"

"Sure I did. I was there when he was hit."

"What did he say to you then?"

"There wasn't any time to talk," Ivan Egorovich said evasively. "I saw the mine explode and saw Stepan fall. I ran up to him. The stretcher-bearers arrived. He kept insisting on going with us but he was bleeding terribly, and as pale as death. . . ."

"That wasn't what I meant," Maria said, biting her lips to fight back her emotion. "You saw him afterwards in hospital."

"Yes, I saw him in hospital, too."

"Did he say anything about coming home?" Maria asked in a low voice.

"Home?" repeated Ivan Egorovich. There was a pause. Then he said slowly: "I wouldn't lie to you, I don't know anything about that."

He fell silent. Maria's head dropped. Ivan Egorovich stroked his beard thoughtfully. He was annoyed with himself for having started this conversation. Better to have waited until time had healed all wounds. But he knew that since she had brought up the subject herself, Maria would not stop until she had learned everything.

"Didn't you ask him about it, Ivan Egorovich?" Maria asked raising her head.

"I did."

"Well, and what did he say?"

"He said: 'What's the use of keeping a sick tree in the forest, a dead pine that has started to rot at the roots? Better to clear it away altogether so that it won't shut out the sunlight for the other trees.'"

"He was talking about himself."

"Yes," replied Ivan Egorovich, resolving finally to tell the truth. "His wound was pretty bad. They never thought he'd pull through. But he did. He's alive all right but he won't be able to work any more. He doesn't want to be a burden on you. . . ."

"A burden?"

"Well, since he can't be a help he doesn't want to be a hindrance, see? The way I see it, he wasn't figuring to come home any more. That's most likely why he hasn't been writing. So you'll forget him quicker."

"So that's it!"

"And how will you manage now?" Ivan Egorovich inquired anxiously. "Stepan asked me to help you. He told me to tell you this as soon as I got back but I couldn't do it somehow. . . ."

"I'll wait for him," Maria said, paying no heed to Ivan Egorovich's last words. "He'll come home. He'll come back, if only for a day, he'll come, I know he will." She rose to her feet, tore her boat hook out of the ground and set off along the riverbank.

"Why did he have to do that? Why? As if we were strangers. Is there no other way?" she kept asking herself aloud. A sense of deep injury possessed her.

Maria knew every pine tree, every pond, every hoary tree stump along this path. And everything evoked memories associated with Stepan. It was on this path that she used to meet him when he came home from work, weary but gay and always with some amusing account of the day's happenings to tell her.

IT WAS no more than three kilometers from the pier on the Vodla River to the settlement. Yet as the boat steamed across Lake Onega, Stepan Korozin wondered uneasily how he would get home. Even his small soldier's suitcase and duffle bag were too heavy for him and he shrank from asking anyone to help him.

The deck was deserted, only the deckhands on watch appeared now and again as if emerging from a fog, only to disappear at once, bent on their duties.

Stepan gazed at the ragged crests of the waves and smoked one cigarette after another. He already regretted having succumbed to the desire to see his wife once again and making this trip on the pretext of turning over the property to her. He had overestimated his strength. The slightest exertion caused a sharp pain in his chest. And once again he was filled with dread at the thought of becoming a burden on his family.

Stepan knew that Maria would not abandon him. He knew that she would be sorry for him and he feared her pity more than anything else.

As dawn approached the wind grew stronger and the waves hurled themselves more violently against the ship's sides. Passengers began to appear on deck. Stepan was about to go down to his cabin when, looking up, he saw before him a man in a wide canvas cape and high top boots.

"Stepan Andreyevich!" cried the man. "I've been wondering whether it

was really you or not. So here you are!"

"Yes, here I am," replied Stepan recognizing Kirillov, a job superintendent with whom he had worked on rafting.

"You've come back just in time, man," he said gaily. "There's more than enough work to be done. Why not come and work in my section?"

Stepan did not reply. He glanced at Kirillov's smiling, weather-beaten face and his features contracted as though from some physical pain. The fact that Kirillov, who had not seen him for more than five years, showed no interest either in his wound or in the reason that had kept him away from home so long hurt him.

"Well, what do you say?" Kirillov demanded.

"I'm an invalid," Stepan said in a low voice. He felt that he hated Kirillov at that moment.

"I heard something about that. But don't let it bother you. We'll always find something for you to do," Kirillov waved the objection aside.

"I don't expect to be here for more than three days," Stepan said drily.

Kirillov looked puzzled. "Well," he said, "You know best. But you might drop over and have a look at the job. Eh?"

As the boat neared the pier, the passengers crowded round the exits. Stepan stood aside and let them pass. He was in no hurry. When the deck was deserted he hoisted his duffle bag onto his shoulder, picked up his small suitcase and went ashore. He walked very slowly, looking about him as though he were a complete stranger.

Before meeting Maria, Stepan decided to find out all he could about her. "Five years is a long time," he thought. "For all I know, she may not live here any more. And maybe she's not alone."

An automobile horn sounded behind him and Stepan moved over to the side of the road, but the lorry pulled up sharply and the driver poked his head out of the caboose. "Want a lift, soldier?" he asked. The driver made room for Stepan beside him. "You from these parts, or come on business?"

"I'm from here," replied Stepan. "But I've been away a long while."

When they reached the settlement Stepan asked the driver to stop.

"Which house is it?"

"That's all right. I'll get out here," said Stepan. "It isn't far now."

"Right you are," said the driver understandingly and stepped on the brake.

Picking up speed, the truck soon disappeared behind the bend. Stepan remained alone in the middle of the street. For a time he stood as if undecided. Then he picked up his bags and made his way slowly toward his own house.

A small boy was standing on the porch of the next house staring curiously at the stranger. Stepan beckoned to him. The boy ran over to the fence. "Who lives in this house?" Stepan said pointing to his own cottage.

"Aunt Maria," replied the lad.

"Who else?"

"Vasya, her son."

"That's all?"

"Yes."

"Thanks," said Stepan and was about to go on when a woman appeared on the porch. Stepan recognized his old neighbor.

"Stepan Andreyevich!" she exclaimed. "How wonderful! We weren't expecting you. Poor Maria must have cried her eyes out waiting for you."

"Good morning," Stepan said shortly, detecting hidden reproach in his neighbor's words. "Is Maria home?"

"No. She's down at the river working. Come in and have a cup of tea. I'll send for Vasya."

"Thanks, I'll drop in later on," said Stepan and went on to his own house.

As he disappeared through the doorway, the woman called her son. "Mishutka, run and find Aunt Maria. Tell her Uncle Stepan has come home." The boy set off at top speed. He met Maria not far from the settlement.

"Auntie Maria!" he shouted while he was still some distance away. "Uncle Stepan's come home. He's waiting for you. . . ."

"What's that?" Maria cried, not daring to believe her own ears.

"Uncle Stepan has come home. . . . Hurry up. . . ."

Panting with excitement Maria started to run after the boy who was already dashing back. But after a few steps she stopped as though her strength had left her. "You go on ahead," she said to the boy in a flat voice. "I'll come right away."

"He must have come to say good-



bye," she thought. How was she to receive him, after all he had suffered? What should she say to him?

By the time she reached home she was her usual calm grave self. Stepan was sitting on the steps talking to their son. Maria saw that the boy was nervous. Evidently he sensed that all was not well with his father.

When he saw his wife approaching Stepan rose, clinging to the rail for support. At a glance Maria took in his gaunt frame. She did not weep or cry out. Nor did she throw herself into his arms. Instead she stood her boat hook up against the wall, smoothed her dress, came forward slowly and stretched out her hand to him.

"Greetings, Stepan Andreyevich. . ."

She felt Stepan's hand tremble and though the cruelty of her words choked her, she said: "You've been a long time coming home, haven't you? I'd almost given you up as a bad job. Thought you must have found someone more to your taste. . ."

She narrowed her eyes to hide her emotion and went into the house.

He had not anticipated such a cold reception. He had expected his wife to be sorry for him, to bemoan his changed appearance. Instead she appeared to be jealous of some non-existent woman. It was all so unexpected, so different from what he had imagined.

"I have come to have a talk with you, Maria," he began, but Maria cut him short:

"Talk? What is there to talk about, if you have forgotten your home," she said sternly. "You did not think of us for a whole year. . . Too wrapped up in yourself. I suppose you've found someone better looking than me. Well, I don't pretend to be the handsomest woman in the world. . ."

Maria turned to the stove, lifted out the pot of cabbage soup that had been standing on the hot coals and placed it on the table. "Sit down and eat," she commanded.

Stepan meekly obeyed. He had not fully recovered from the shock of the meeting.

"I simply haven't time to do everything," Maria was saying in a tone of reproach. "There's the fishing tackle to be seen to, and the fishing season will soon be over. Other folks have laid in a stock for the winter." She was trying desperately to think of some occupation within Stepan's powers in his present condition. "And Vasya's getting quite out of hand. He's alone all day when I'm at work and there's nobody to look after him."

The boy glanced up at his mother in astonishment. "But, Mama. . ."

"Keep quiet, I'll have something to say to you later on," Maria cut in quickly.

The boy could not understand what he had done to deserve such unjust accusations, and with a sigh applied himself to his soup.

"Yesterday I heard the rafters complaining that the logs keep jamming," Maria went on. "There isn't a day passes without a jam. Most of the tim-

ber's been floating loose this year. They've been asking after you. Stepan ought to come home, they said. He knows every inch of the river. He would know what to do. . ."

"Just a minute, where do those jams occur?" Stepan asked with interest, laying down his spoon.

"Down by the yellow stone, mostly," she replied.

"They've evidently been overloading the river. They don't take the speed of the current into account. That has to be watched." Stepan took up his spoon again and began to gulp his food as he had done in the days when he feared to waste a single moment of the spring season so precious to the river driver.

Maria looked at his brightened face and a softer look came into her eyes, but a deep angry furrow still lingered between her brows.

Dinner over, she threw a shawl over her shoulders and moved toward the door.

"Where are you going, Marisha?" Stepan asked in surprise.

"Down to the river. There's work to be done."

"I'm going with you," Stepan said, but Maria stopped him.

"No. You need a rest after your journey." Turning to her son she said: "I want you to come with me. There'll be work for you too." Maria hurried out without looking at Stepan.

Left alone, Stepan sat for a long while at the table. He felt sad. Marisha had gone and he had not managed to tell her anything. And now he didn't know what to say to her. He got up and began to pace the room.

"She is actually angry with me," he said to himself. "But what fault is it of mine?" And suddenly a sense of doubt as to the correctness of the course he had chosen swept over Stepan. The realization was so unexpected that he halted in his tracks as though he had seen a ghost.

"Too wrapped up in yourself," recalling Maria's words he recognized in them the truth that had been hidden from him by his personal tragedy.

He felt ashamed. Marisha had every right to be angry with him, and curiously enough the note of jealousy in his wife's voice no longer stung him. On the contrary, it elated him and gave him a new confidence in himself. Picking up his old soldier's cap he went outside.

As Stepan walked along he studied the changes that had taken place in the settlement with keen interest. On the top of the hill he noticed the new office building. The traces of the war were being erased and everywhere the onrush of life made itself felt with a powerful impact. The noises from the river and the whine of the tie saws on the water front grew louder.

Stepan was returning to a world of

familiar sounds. His keen ear detected the rhythmic beat of the distant machines, the splashing of logs as they plunged into the water, the grinding of the raft chains.

Unconsciously he quickened his pace. He climbed to the top of the steep bank still bearing the trace of the spring floods and the river spread out before him. He stood there for a long time thinking of his coming talk with his wife. Then he turned and set off for the settlement. As he approached the office he saw Maria hurrying to meet him.

"What happened to you?" she asked breathlessly. "You'll have to hurry, the river drivers are waiting for you. They want you to go to the rafting headquarters."

"Headquarters?" Stepan said as it dawned upon him where Maria had gone after dinner.

"Of course. Who said you have to work with a boat hook all your life?"

"Maria," Stepan mumbled, rooted to the spot, "Marisha, there isn't anyone else, there never was, you know that, don't you. . ."

"What's that?" Maria asked, not grasping his meaning at once. Then, as if not wishing to resume a topic no longer of any importance, she said: "Come on, we must hurry, don't let everybody have to wait for you again."

IN THE MORNING Stepan pulled on his old working clothes and set out for the Shala section which had been placed under his supervision. Skirting a clump of trees he went down to the river front and continued along the beach. The river was practically free of logs, only here and there isolated timbers lazily floated downstream, while the tops of young firs bobbed up and down on the ripples.

"Didn't Maria say that most of the timber's been floating loose this year," Stepan thought, puzzled, and it occurred to him that the old river drivers had invented this easy and unnecessary job out of compassion for him. A wave of self-pity swept over him. "Nothing doing. I'd rather stay home and make nets or go hunting for cranberries in the swamp along with the old women," he thought with bitter resentment.

Stepan's reflections were interrupted by a sudden noise upstream. Through the noise he could now distinguish shouts and he knew that the logs must have jammed at the Shala rapids during the night. The fact that there was no floating timber on the broad back of the river confirmed his guess.

Increasing his pace, he approached the spot Maria had spoken about the day before. In the middle of the river a flat yellow rock rose from the frothy, swirling water. Further down the narrow channel was blocked by an immobile wall of logs. Driven on by the stream, the logs piled one on the other, the chaotic mass rising every minute and obviously pressing down against

(Continued on page 28)

The Same Ally and the Same Enemy

A review by JESSICA SMITH

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PEACE, by John Somerville. Gaer Associates, New York, 1949. 264 pp. \$3.00.

ALTHOUGH WRITTEN with the detachment of a scholar, this book is illumined with the author's passionate concern for peace and quick with the urgency of finding the way to peace if the human race is to survive in this atomic age.

Dr. Somerville drives right to the heart of the question—that the greatest danger is war between Big Powers, and that that means primarily war between our country and the Soviet Union—a war which many believe inevitable on the ground that Soviet ideology "is a blood cousin of the Nazi-Fascist strain, with an ineradicable drive toward war."

The most valuable section of Dr. Somerville's book is devoted to blasting this fantastic and evil misconception, which is fostered and implemented by the foreign policy of our present administration. Dr. Somerville declares: "I'm saying that we must stop acting on the idea that Nazi-Fascism and Soviet Communism are the same, first because the facts do not bear out this idea, and second, because if we continue to act upon it in foreign policy, we will make war as inevitable as it would be made by regimes actually Nazi or Fascist."

The author begins his chapter on Nazi-Fascist ideology with a warning against repeating the tragic stupidity of ignoring its meaning, never concealed, which led to World War II, the terrible lessons of which are being so quickly forgotten. He shows how both the pronouncements and the actions of the Nazi and Fascist leaders demonstrated their belief in the inevitability and glory of war, their implacable hatred of democracy and peace. Since the philosophy of militarism is incontrovertibly the basis of fascism, he argues that our greatest responsibility today is to withhold from any nation in the world the freedom to have a fascist regime, since freedom to live is the first right of all people. "Nations which want peace have absolutely no basis of compromise with a Fascist regime," he declares, scoring our policy of opposing Communism, while encouraging such regimes as that of Franco Spain. And again, "To speak in terms of freedom, it is evident that we cannot hope, at one and the same time, to give the world freedom to have peace, and give the nations of the world freedom to have a Fascist regime. We must choose between the two, for they are mutually exclusive." Thus it is a false attitude to take the position that we will let any nation have any regime it pleases unless we add the necessary condition "which is compatible with the continuity of peace."

Dr. Somerville then proceeds to show

that Soviet ideology proceeds from exactly opposite premises than fascist ideology, taking it for granted that war is evil, not good. He refutes the theory that Communists believe social wrongs can be corrected only by violence. Cataloguing the main respects in which the Soviet regime completely differs from that of fascism, Dr. Somerville notes the issue of racial brotherhood and everything connected with it, the vast educational and cultural program that has created a new pattern of commingling among all the many peoples making up the USSR; the complete equality accorded to women; devotion to democratic objectives with emphasis on economic security guaranteed by social ownership of the means of production; the responsibility of the leaders to the people.

In his analysis of American ideology, Dr. Somerville unfortunately evades the main issues. No one would deny that adherence to the democratic ideals of Jefferson and Whitman, which millions of Americans uphold, would lead to a very different policy than that pursued by our government today. But Dr. Somerville fails to come to grips with the reasons for our failures to do so or to discuss the ideology of monopoly capitalism on which our present policy is based.

In his discussion of over-all foreign policies, Dr. Somerville correctly points out the double standard that is applied

in considering that it is right and proper for the United States and Britain to have spheres of influence, but impermissible in the case of the Soviet Union. But in over-stressing this argument Dr. Somerville, though this is perhaps not his intention, seems to accept the fact that old time power politics must continue. It is fallacious to argue from the premise that if we pursue policies that history has proved are dangerous to the peace of the world we should be willing to permit the Soviet Union to pursue similar policies. We would have expected from the author a more constructive and fundamental discussion of how to build a cooperative, one-world policy. Nor does Dr. Somerville differentiate between the nature of spheres of influence maintained by imperialist powers and the quite different type of influence developed by the Soviet Union in its international relations, failing to draw the logical conclusions from his own analysis of the peaceful basis of Soviet foreign policy and the nature of the Soviet regime.

But despite these weaknesses, we can only welcome most heartily the main point of the book, that war with the Soviet Union is unnecessary and avoidable, and that the way can and must be found to American-Soviet cooperation and world peace.

"There is a basis for cooperation in building for the common objective of peace," declares Dr. Somerville, "just as there was a basis for an alliance in fighting the war against a common enemy: the same ally and the same enemy."

U. S. Unionists on Unions in Europe

A review by ROBERT W. DUNN

REPORT FROM EUROPE, by the Rank and File Delegation of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, published by the Union at 150 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 50 cents, 180 pp.

FOUR rank-and-file workers chosen by the west coast "dockers" union (CIO), took a look at Europe for three months last summer.

What they saw is something to write home about; and they did. Part of this absorbing 180-page book is made up of quotations from letters describing the living and working conditions of the people in several West European countries as well as in several beyond the fictional "Iron Curtain." The remainder is a well-considered summary of what these four unionists saw.

The book is, in short, a condensed labor travelogue which gives us

ROBERT W. DUNN is Executive Secretary of Labor Research Association and author of "American Foreign Investments," "The Americanization of Labor," "Soviet Trade Unions" and other books. He is editor of "The Labor Fact Book" series.

glimpses of workers' life, and especially dock workers' life in France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Finland, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and England.

The four members of Harry Bridges' union went with open minds but with vastly more social and economic understanding than the average tourist or the pompous ambassadors of the Truman Doctrine from the top officers of the CIO and AFL.

There are people in those East European democracies, they tell us, "who formerly lived in luxury on unearned dividends. It goes without saying that these people are bitter and resentful about having their bonanzas taken from them, but it also goes without saying that the people who formerly owned the factories and mines and other means of production are an extremely small minority in any of these countries."

This delegation of rank and filers was mainly concerned, however, with "the overwhelming majority — the common man," especially if he works under a new social system.

Answering the Big Lie No. 1 of the general press in the USA, the delegation found that "the Iron Curtain simply was not there, at least for us." Furthermore, the Four found that the so-called "satellites" of the Soviet Union, sometimes painted as victims of "red aggression," were in reality "independent nations who look upon the Soviet Union as a helpful and friendly neighbor, whose armed forces liberated them from the German Nazi."

The main impression the Four brought back was the same as that emphasized by practically all representatives of peoples' organizations who have been in Europe since the war—the longing for and insistence on peace and a burning hatred of the war inciters no matter where they may be found or in what hypocritical phrases they may clothe their imperialist designs.

The messages they brought from every country were summarized in the final word of the Polish trade unions: "For Heaven's sake tell the American people we want no more war, we want to rebuild our country and live in peace with every country."

In the Soviet Union, unlike in the USA and such countries as Holland, the Four found no "sign of war psychosis or war propaganda."

Having just collected the latest material on the trade unions and related conditions in three sample East European countries (for Labor Research Association's *Labor Fact Book 9*, recently published) we can appreciate the fine job of condensing vital facts done by the Four.

There is no unemployment. In Poland, for example, they found that for the first time "Polish workers are fully employed in Polish industries. They no longer work for foreign industrialists whose policies of closing mines and factories to keep prices up in other countries lead to chronic unemployment and poverty."

Religion is free and not interfered with. They made a special investigation of the question of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, and concluded: "What we found persuaded us there is no suppression of religion or persecution of any church or religious groups. On the contrary, definite steps are taken to insure complete freedom of worship. It was demonstrated that every citizen can pick the church of his own choosing but no one religion can have a monopoly."

The landlords no longer dominate the rural areas. Their large holdings have been divided and the poor peasant and farm workers are the main beneficiaries of these profound changes.

The unions in these countries, and specifically in the Soviet Union, "are as democratic as they come." In answer to the hackneyed charge that Soviet trade unions are not free, they say:

"Well, if in the AFL, and we are sorry to say in a good many CIO unions, they had one-tenth the democracy that prevails here, the Greens, the Tobins, the Hutchinsons, the Jim

Careys and all the other barons in American labor would have to look around for honest labor."

In fact, they found the "trade union set-up" in the Soviet Union "is even more democratic than in our own ILWU; every one in an official position is chosen by secret referendum."

And, "as far as the unions being under the dictatorship of the government is concerned, well it is just the other way around. No laws affecting the workers are enacted without the approval of the trade unions. In other words there is no possibility for a Taft

and a Hartley and their fellow travellers." Recent experience of U.S. unionists in their efforts to get the Taft-Hartley slave law repealed should help them to realize the deep truth of this statement by the Four.

It may also help to explain why the "free government" in Washington recently denied a passport to Harry Bridges to attend a labor conference in Europe. We doubt if the State Department wants any more members of this union, officials or rank and filers, to come home with eye witness accounts of what is going on over there.

PAUL ROBESON'S SOVIET JOURNEY

(Continued from page 11)

themselves with the workers," he said.

As Robeson's understanding of the problems of his people increased, acting, as he always has, swiftly, on his beliefs, never willing merely to note the correctness of a thesis academically, he began establishing closer and closer personal contact with organized workers; this was both in the United States and in England where he lived off and on for several years, and to which he returned after his first Soviet journey, and after his time in Spain during the first great anti-fascist struggle.

This strengthening of ties with labor, and the consequent growing boycott against him by the anti-labor element of both countries, is a basic part of the background of his present stand on the great issues of today.

And so, discussing his reaction to the Soviet Union today, and his anti-war stand, he begins right back in this country when the music moguls of 57th Street slapped on a boycott, cancelling some 85 Robeson concert engagements because of his outspoken pro-labor, pro-freedom of the Negro people, anti-war stand, and thought they could either force him out of the struggle or write a finish to his singing career.

"This is the background," he said. "I had no concerts here. I went to sing professionally in England, in regular concerts, \$5 top prices, and I had a tremendous welcome, a tremendous success. At Manchester, seats were put on sale at the Belleview, which seats 10,000, in the morning; they were gone by noon.

"This is very typical of what happened all over. I never had a success of that kind before. I saw many people obviously not the regular concert crowd, and even workers, in seats they must have sacrificed a week's pay to get.

"And who were the thousands standing outside? Not bobby-soxers — the manager could never figure it out. It was clear to me that there was something very deeply felt . . . *what was important to the English people was that I had come to them as a representative*

of the progressive section of America.

"So then I gave concerts at sixpence low. I arranged whole series of concerts for American-Soviet Friendship, for Peace groups. Often workers' choruses sang with me, in Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, the Miners Chorus. And always at concerts and meetings they knew I was a friend of the Soviet Union . . . and always I was welcome because I was a representative of the progressive and Negro people in this country. Here we were allies in a land where they certainly needed allies. They are so deeply conscious of the dangers of war. It became perfectly clear that the great mass of English people are on the side of peace—in spite of the Bevins, the Atlees."

At the Paris Peace Conference, in Norway, Sweden, in Italy, always he found the same powerful reaction to his singing songs of struggle and proclaiming the need for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

"We must keep to this conception, not of just sitting here by ourselves opposed by a tremendous weight of reaction, but realize that our sphere extends through this whole band of countries, and that the people of these countries will not let America dictate war.

"In Sweden, the United States Ambassador used the Fourth of July for an attack on the Soviet Union. The *Aftonbladet*, not a left paper at all, took him to task, showed bitter resentment, said he was trying to show his power over the Swedish people. These countries are divided two-thirds to three-fifths on the side of peace. If Great Britain will not go to war, America will not go to war; if Italy, France and those other countries will not go to war—then we can defeat the warmongers in this periphery. We won't allow those few people to say they are all of America. The people over there have a right to choose their friends—not a revived fascist Germany or a fascist-geared section of America . . . but progressive America."

REVIEW AND COMMENT

(Continued from page 8)

sharper conflict will arise over passage of the Arms Program.

Much of the debate and the opposition centered around the Arms Program. Administration spokesmen were thus faced with the problem of making it appear, in order not to jeopardize ratification, that the Pact itself contained no arms commitment. That the arms commitment is contained in the Pact, there can be no doubt, as the Pact itself and the State Department's own words and actions testify. On May 14, the State Department issued a Statement on the Military Assistance Program outlining the legislation proposed by the President authorizing him to spend \$1,450,000,000 in 1950, of which \$1,130,000,000 would be provided to the other signatories of the North Atlantic Pact (the remainder going to Greece, Turkey and "certain other countries"). The statement declared categorically that the military aid program is a "very vital corollary" of the North Atlantic Pact, stating that while conceived and developed separately, the two are complementary, and that the Arms Program would be necessary even without the Pact.

While it is of course unknown what specific advance commitments may have been made to the Pact signatories, it is certainly clear that the Brussels Treaty nations count on American aid, and that the Military Staff Committee which has been functioning for months at Fontainebleau, with American participation, has figured it in their plans. Immediately after the signing of the treaty the State Department made public requests for arms from eight of the signatory countries. And since pressure was put on the Scandinavian countries to join the Pact in the form of warning that they could not expect arms from the U.S. unless they joined, it would have been natural to assume that if they joined the arms would be forthcoming.

The Senate, its regular Chamber undergoing repairs, met to consider one of the most ominous foreign policy moves it has ever taken in the old Senate Chamber, whose cramped quarters meant that the public and most of the press had to be excluded. Senator Tom Connally (D-Tex.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, opened with an appeal for speedy ratification of this first peacetime military alliance in our history. He blamed the USSR for the "breakdown" of peace negotiations and pictured it as a greater menace than Hitler Germany, at the same time attempting to disclaim that the Pact was aimed against Russia. He confirmed the role of the Pact in "indirect aggression," hinting that if Bulgaria, Hungary or Czechoslovakia had been signatories of such a Pact we might have been involved in war over the events in those countries. He tried to make it appear that the Pact carried no commitment for the Arms Program (for the passage of which he has urgently appealed) yet insisted "let us not search for escape clauses." Describing Senator Connally's speech, which he said was as banal as it was long, I. F. Stone wrote in *The Compass* for July 6:

In this chamber which heard Monroe promulgate the "doctrine" designed to keep the Holy Alliance from extending itself to the New World, a hot, bored and listless Senate heard Chairman Tom Connally . . . explain what some few disgruntled folk regard as the start of a new Holy Alliance, this time designed for conquest of the Old World.

Senator Vandenberg, who followed, made clear that the Pact is also the new version of Hitler's Anti-Comintern Axis. In a speech bristling with attacks on the Soviet Union, he declared that the world's present jeopardy comes from one source alone—"embattled, greedy Communism abroad and at home." He insisted that the "potential force" of the treaty constituted its main importance and that the matter of the Arms Program was not obligatory, but open to choice. Sensing

the difficulties of appealing to fears of Soviet aggression in the light of the Paris agreements he, as did Senator Connally, made a feeble attempt to shift the grounds of the Pact to fear of Germany, suggesting that "it would apply just as promptly and effectively to a German aggressor as to a Communist aggressor." But this angle has been thought up too late to carry any conviction, and nothing in the Pact or any of the policies accompanying its negotiations supports it.

Senator Vandenberg demagogically suggested that after the Pact's ratification President Truman start a new crusade for universal disarmament, ignoring the fact that the Soviet Union has been carrying on such a crusade for years and that the West has rejected its concrete proposals for implementing the UN resolution on armament reduction.

Senator Elbert D. Thomas (D-Utah) and Senator Claude D. Pepper (D-Fla.), both one-time fervent supporters of Roosevelt's policy of friendship with the Soviet Union, betrayed their past record by supporting the Pact, though weakly. One wonders whether they are themselves convinced.

A number of supposed supporters of the Pact criticized it sharply. Senator Guy M. Gillette (D-Iowa), for example, made the most vehement attack of all on the treaty, but said he would vote for it "with the greatest reluctance, with deep misgivings, with grave doubts and qualms," since the Senate was obliged to ratify or be the butt of ridicule and scorn around the world.

Senator Harry P. Cain (R-Wash.), who said he would vote for the Pact, criticized it on different grounds. He felt that it should be broadened by the inclusion of Greece and Turkey, and especially Spain, arguing that we should not be denied "the help of Spain's million trained veterans of war against Communists." The Senator need not be too disturbed about this omission, as Secretary Acheson and other Administration spokesmen have indicated the hope that it will be rectified.

Senator Ralph E. Flanders (R-Vermont) assailed the Pact as a commitment to arm Europe and drain American resources. Senator Forrest C. Donnell (R-Mo.) demonstrated with quotes from Secretary Acheson that under Articles 2, 3 and 5 we were committed to arm Europe for many years and warned that the Pact would set off the greatest arms race in history. Senator Kenneth S. Wherry (R-Neb.) urged his colleagues to stop kidding themselves and realize that ratification of the Pact would commit the country to a twenty-year arms program. Senator George W. Malone (R-Nev.) attacked the treaty as one that would perpetuate "the colonial systems throughout Asia and Africa" and as another link in the chain of events bound to wreck the economic structure of the United States. Senator Arthur Watkins (R-Utah) spoke against the treaty, seeing in it a moral agreement to go ahead with the Arms Program. Senator Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) assailed the proposed outlay for arms as only the first take of what might come to 20 billion dollars. Senator James P. Kern (R-Mo.) also opposed the Pact on these grounds saying that the Arms Program "goes with the Pact" and will become "a sinkhole of untold billions of the money of American taxpayers." Senator Glen H. Taylor (D-Idaho) has expressed his intention of speaking against the Pact as leading to war.

Senator Robert Taft (R-Ohio), who had previously declared that he would vote for the Pact but not for the Arms Program, made a major opposition speech. He stated that he had decided with finality that the Pact carried with it an inseparable obligation to arm the European signatories. Contending that the Pact proposed to have the United States "arm half the world against the other half," he charged that it would be "wholly contrary to the spirit of the obligations we assumed in the UN Charter," and that the tax program would impose an intolerable burden on the American people. Breaking sharply with the bipartisan foreign policy of Senator Vandenberg, he said:

. . . I cannot vote for a treaty which, in my opinion,

will do far more to bring on a third world war than it will ever do to maintain the peace of the world.

He recommended instead a simple declaration that the Monroe Doctrine be extended to Europe, but said he would support even the treaty if the Senate would accept the reservation that there would be no legal or moral obligation for the US to supply arms to Europe.

It is of the utmost significance that even a reactionary like Taft, who certainly shares the anti-Soviet aims of our government, realizes that this move to start another war does not have popular support. With his ears to the ground and his eyes on 1950, he wants to be on record as having opposed this criminal undertaking.

Answering Senator Taft, Senator Dulles (R.-N.Y.) insisted that there was no commitment in the Pact to arm Western Europe. At the same time he declared, contradictorily, that a reservation such as Senator Taft suggested would mean the renegotiation of the Pact. He flatly disagreed with the State Department declaration that the Arms Program is corollary to the Pact, although he himself considers the sum set too high. He declared that the best help to France, for example, would be an atomic bomb held in readiness in this country. Reminded of his Cleveland speech in which he had warned that the Pact and the Arms Program might provoke Russia to war, he said conditions had changed and that he did not now think Russia could be provoked.

In an interview in *U. S. News and World Report* for July 8, Mr. Dulles had stated that the Russians do not want war and would only accept it if forced on them. But he made a point of differentiating between international war "as distinct from civil war which they often try to stir up abroad." Senator Dulles is realistic enough to know that neither our country nor Europe is now prepared for a major war. Evidently for the time being he believes that by merely supplying enough arms to keep subservient reactionary governments in power, we can consolidate control of Western Europe with Western Germany—with whose cartels his law firm has always had close ties—as a base, swiftly restoring its industries and opening up a certain amount of East-West trade in order to avoid too much competition from German production.

The Peace Movement Gains Momentum

AN IMPORTANT impetus has been given the peace movement by the constructive proposals for peace by American Quakers, announced on July 18, which we shall discuss more fully in our next issue. In a report resulting from a year's study of the problem of American-Soviet relations, and conversations with officials of both countries, by a group headed by Gilbert F. White, President of Haverford College, the Quakers take as their theme that the United States and the Soviet Union can co-exist in peace. The report has been sent to Secretary Acheson and Soviet Ambassador Panyushkin, and is being circulated among prominent Americans. Declaring that security cannot be achieved by overwhelming military power, it urges the United States to take a bold initiative in working out an over-all agreement with the Soviet Union to include dropping the barriers to East-West trade, setting up a unified "neutral Germany" and placing the atomic bomb stockpile under United Nations seal, as well as taking steps for arms reduction under the UN agreement.

These proposals from a group so widely respected in this country and throughout the world deserve the most serious consideration by our government, and must be welcomed by all progressive and peace loving Americans.

Space allows only brief mention of the other steps Americans are taking to keep us and the world at peace.

Widespread opposition of religious organizations of all denominations to the North Atlantic Pact and the Arms Program as we have previously reported, continues to mount. On June 27, expressing the fear that the North Atlantic Pact would be used by the Government to repress the freedom aspirations of the colonial peoples, fifty-five Negro leaders, including two college presidents, called on President Truman to reject the military concept con-

tained in the North Atlantic Pact and return to the one-world concept of the United Nations. The statement was released through the Fraternal Council of Churches in America, representing 7,000,000 Negro church members of eleven denominations.

On July 8, 216 leading Americans from thirty states were the signers of a letter delivered to all members of the United States Senate calling for a vote against ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty. The letter was released by the Continuations Committee of the recent Washington Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. It declared the signers were not willing to stake America's security on military power and called for full cooperation in the United Nations, continuation of peaceful negotiations among the Big Four Powers, and particularly a top level American-Soviet conference. Among the many nationally known churchmen, educators and others who signed were the Right Rev. W. Appleton Lawrence, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Western Massachusetts; Prof. P. A. Sorokin, Harvard University; Prof. Abraham J. Cronbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati; Prof. Oswald Veblen, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; Rev. Prof. Halford E. Lucock, Yale Divinity School; Alvin B. Christman, President Eastern Division, National Farmers' Union.

The members of the Senate also heard from 1,500 trade union leaders from 24 states, including AFL, CIO and independent unions, that "The membership of organized labor is against the North Atlantic Pact." The letter, initiated by the National Labor Conference for Peace, was signed on behalf of the 1,500 by Sven Anderson, vice-president of Local 453, United Auto Workers, CIO, and overseas veterans of World War II. The letter said that the rank and file leaders who signed it were in disagreement with Philip Murray and William Green on the issue of the Pact, that labor needs peace, not war, and that just as the Marshall Plan did not provide jobs, neither would the North Atlantic Pact.

The Congress of American Women, numbering 300,000 members, sent an urgent letter signed by its chairman, Muriel Draper, to all Senators, opposing ratification as a step toward war, not peace.

On the eve of the Senate debate, Progressive Party Leader Henry A. Wallace sent a letter to all Senators denouncing the Pact and the accompanying Arms Program as violating the United Nations, splitting the world in two, imposing an impossible arms burden on Europe and the United States and leading to war instead of peace. The world economic crisis, he said, demands that we completely reconsider the foreign policy the Pact expresses. Objecting to the trade embargoes imposed by our government, Mr. Wallace declared that there would be a million more jobs in America within six months if increased trade with Eastern Europe and the new China were undertaken. "But if we persist in adding the military and political barrier of the Pact, there will be a million less jobs within six months."

The Soviet leaders have shown their willingness at Paris and after to reach a peace settlement and to promote the East-West trade which Mr. Wallace declared is essential if the entire Western world, and particularly the United States, is to avoid the terrible effects of a devastating depression. Receiving Alan G. Kirk, as new U.S. Ambassador in Moscow, Nikolai Shvernik, President of the Soviet Union, said his country would receive with interest any U.S. proposals designed to broaden American-Soviet trade and looking toward general relaxation of economic barriers. Secretary Acheson sought to throw cold water on this proposal by blaming the Soviet Union for the barriers which it is well known were imposed by our own country.

The people must oppose the momentum of peace to the momentum of the cold war which President Truman has urged must not be blocked. The Arms Program must be stopped. Flood your Senators and Congressmen with your protests. The door to peace was opened in Paris. Let us keep it open, by seeking out every avenue of peaceful trade and cooperation with the USSR.

J.S.

MIDSUMMER IN MOSCOW

(Continued from page 13)

among the best equipped. These final exams, which are held during a whole month after the term's end, are a searching test of knowledge. During the last term the pupils are given a list of all the questions set, but it is only when they are in the classroom before the examination commission that they draw the number which indicates the group of questions they are called on to answer. In the oral tests, they then have about an hour to think their replies over and to prepare their notes. Then in turn they advance to the blackboard and reply. Each pupil is expected to answer three questions, which form tests of memory, of powers of exposition and of ingenuity. They are marked according to a five-point scale; top marks in Russian and mathematics being necessary if the pupil is to graduate as excellent, and thus pass on to university or institute without further entrance examination.

At several schools we were able to question teachers about the effect of separating boys and girls, which has been the practice since the abandonment of co-education in urban schools during the war. There was general agreement that scholarship standards had improved both in boys' and girls' schools. The change, moreover, has enabled domestic science and mothercraft to be introduced into the curriculum at girls' schools. We learned though that the separation does not extend beyond the classroom and that pains are taken that in sport, recreation and out-of-school activities boys and girls mix freely.

As far as equipment is concerned, the schools appear to have now made up for wartime losses. Films are used extensively in the classrooms, and at two average schools on the outskirts of Moscow, we found no less than five projectors installed. In the chemistry laboratories, there was sufficient equipment for pupils to work in pairs at the bench. Visual methods of education, which are widely used in the Soviet Union, were supported by ample charts, maps, and models. As for the printing of textbooks, this has become a question in which the public as a whole is taking a lively interest, the literary press carrying a weekly communique which lists the progress in preparing books for the next school year.

The demand has been greatly increased by the recent decision to retain all children at school till the end of seven grades. This has already been the practice in all urban schools, and as a result 90 per cent of all Soviet school children finish seven-year education. In

some remote country districts, however, there were, until this year, children leaving after four years schooling. This is now no longer the case, and all children finishing four years education last May will proceed to the fifth grade in September. The liquidation of this last gap is now probably the most serious task before Soviet educational authorities.

ON PRIVATE PROPERTY

(Continued from page 19)

work for the acquisition of articles of consumption and convenience, a home, household articles, etc. This right follows from the Socialist principle of distribution in accordance with one's work, which means that the one who works more and better should receive more. Consequently, the application of this principle which harmoniously combines the public and personal interests of the working people, simultaneously insures the growth of public Socialist property and a steadfast advance in the material well-being of the working people. That is why personal property of the citizens of the USSR, far from running counter to public property, on the contrary is inseparably bound up with it. Socialist property is the base, the source of personal property.

"The sworn enemies of the Soviet Union, in their attempt to discredit the ideas of Communism among the toiling masses in foreign countries, spread slanderous inventions to the effect that Communists are the enemies of any form of property and that they wish to socialize not only the means of production but also to create common homes, a sort of 'general Communist barracks.'

"Marxist-Leninist teaching about property exposes this vicious slander on Communism and draws a sharp line of demarcation between private ownership of the means of production, which constitutes the foundation of the exploitation of man by man, and the personal property of the working people which is a necessary condition for life and work and the development of the personality in Socialist society."

HENRY LEVITT

(Continued from page 17)

the workers of the Stalin Automobile Plant and their families. The Palace of Culture is controlled by the trade union organization in the factory. It was built fifteen years ago by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. It contains a theater for the use of the plant's theater

group, with seating capacity for 1,100. There are three other halls for meetings and lectures and numerous rooms which are used for various cultural and social occasions.

Making a quick tour of inspection, I saw a group of young workers practicing ballet dancing in one room, and in others trios and quartets were rehearsing on various musical instruments. Every room had a piano; and I learned that costumes for the theater and musical instruments for the orchestras were provided from the trade union's funds. There is also a library with 100,000 books; and lectures are given on various scientific and cultural subjects.

This side of the work of the trade unions is common to all industries in the Soviet Union as I saw in my visits to other factories and enterprises.

A Real Bargain

one of these books

1. RUSSIA — THE GIANT THAT CAME LAST

by Joshua Kunitz

A new kind of history that gives an understanding of Russia today.

2. THE RUSSIANS

by Albert Rhys Williams

Vital up-to-date material on the USSR in Williams' inimitable style.

3. SOVIET RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR

by Dr. Hewlett Johnson

Dean of Canterbury

Conclusive evidence of a nation building for world peace.

plus

A one-year subscription, or renewal to SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY, the American monthly magazine exclusively devoted to news and comment on the Soviet Union.

for only
\$2.00

(Canadian and foreign, \$3.50 additional.)

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

I enclose ☐ check ☐ money order ☐ currency for \$..... for one year's subscription to SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY and the book circled here: 1 2 3

☐ New subscription ☐ Renewal

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

(Canadian and foreign, \$3.50 additional.)

Camp UNITY
AN ADULT INTERRACIAL RESORT
WEEKLY RATES: \$40-\$43. No Tipping
Finest food. Full social staff. Swimming,
boating on Lake Ellis. New Beach. All
sports; horses nearby.
ALCONQUIN 4-8024

MARIA

(Continued from page 22)

the river bottom. Stepan knew that there was disaster ahead.

A few river drivers with boat hooks had gathered helplessly on the bank. Some, venturing on to the boulders closest to the shore, were trying to pry separate logs loose from the jam. But if they succeeded in releasing a log or two, new ones immediately took their place. Stepan knew that the men could do nothing that way. First, the key log had to be found.

He carefully studied the mass of timber, observed the direction taken by the water currents forcing their way through the logs, noted the way the logs were lying. In a few minutes he had sized up what had happened during the night and after that it was not hard to spot the log that had caused all the trouble. There it was, lying almost submerged.

While Stepan was surveying the situation, two men on tiny rafts, which they propelled with boat hooks, worked their way close to the jam and applied themselves to working some of the logs loose.

"Get out of there!" Stepan shouted, seeing that the men were risking their lives to no purpose.

Seizing a boat hook, he ran along the river front until he was opposite some

rafts floating in a quiet bay not far from the shore. At the water's edge he stumbled over a cable and fell on his knees, but instantly got to his feet again. He tried to catch one of the rafts with a boat hook and missed. The boat hook suddenly grew heavy and slipped from his hands into the water. Stepan's face twisted, he cried out and blundered blindly into the water with outstretched hands.

At that moment someone seized him by the shoulder. Stepan spun around and saw Ivan Egorovich. Ivan was frightened by the wild look in Stepan's eyes, but he spoke calmly, in a low voice, as if he did not want others to hear:

"What are you doing, Stepan? Come back!"

"There is one log holding back the whole lot," Stepan said, panting and desperate. "And I haven't got the strength. . . ."

"Show me the log," Ivan Egorovich said as he helped Stepan to climb back on the bank. "Where is it?"

Stepan pointed toward midstream. "You can see the end sticking out from the water. . . . You'd better take a cable with you. Don't touch it with the hook, or the whole thing might come down on you. . . . Just slip the cable over the log—and we'll all pull together from the shore."

Stepan stood on the shore and followed Ivan Egorovich's every movement closely. River drivers gathered to

where the end of the cable lay on the shore. While Ivan Egorovich attached the cable to the log and made his way back to shore no one said a word. Only the heavy breathing of the river and the crunching of the logs in the jam broke the silence.

The river drivers seized the cable and looked to Stepan for the order to pull. At last he gave the signal.

The cable leapt out of the water, fell in again in a cascade of spray, then drew taut like a violin string. Digging their heels into the ground, the men pulled for all they were worth, but the log did not yield an inch.

"Now, once more!" Stepan shouted.

IVAN Egorovich looked at his friend. "You're a funny chap, Stepan. A while before you complained: 'I haven't got the strength.' It isn't only brawn that's wanted. We've plenty of strong muscles and to spare. What makes you think you can't be useful without a boat hook?"

Stepan remembered that this was precisely what Maria had said the day before. He wanted to say something in reply but just kept slapping Ivan Egorovich on the shoulder instead. Stepan's brow cleared, his eyes brightened as if lit up by the spark of newly-acquired understanding. He seemed to have shaken off several years in a few minutes. And Ivan Egorovich saw once again the familiar face of his old comrade and rejoiced.

An asset to every home and office

NEW LIBERTY ATLAS

Contains 39 multi-colored postwar maps of the world, continents and countries including a

TWO PAGE MAP OF THE USSR.

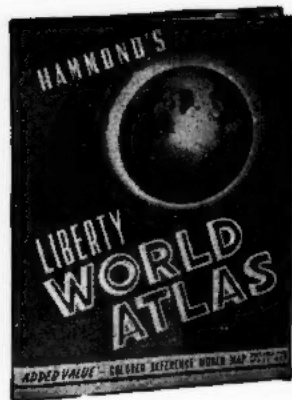
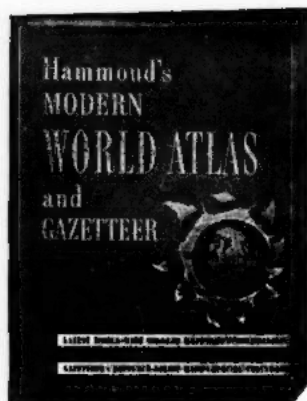
Full page resource map of each continent, a World Gazetteer-Index, and complete indexes of world cities.

Added value: A colored reference World Map suitable as a wall map.

Atlas size 12 1/4" x 9 1/2"

Hard cover \$1.25

(Delivery in one month)



MODERN ATLAS

Contains 39 multi-colored postwar maps of the world, continents and countries. Useful information on different map projections. Six physical economic maps of the continents and tables of geographical facts.

Atlas size 12 1/4" x 9 1/2"

Paper cover \$.50

order through
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 East 32nd Street • New York 16, N. Y.

A HANDY
ATTRACTIVE
REFERENCE

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY Bound and Indexed

FOR THE
YEAR
1948

\$3.00
Index alone 25¢

A few bound and indexed volumes for 1947 are still available.

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 East 32nd St., New York 16

MEANING OF THE LYSENKO CONTROVERSY

(Continued from page 14)

yond the facts. Such a theory erects a block to further scientific progress in biology and prevents practical achievement.

The Soviet authorities have demonstrated their deep concern for the welfare of the peoples of the USSR by the interest they displayed in this controversy. If Lysenko is right, his theories should be supported because they serve the interests of the people. Classical genetic theory, if false, should be discouraged because it adversely affects the Soviet economy. Does such an attitude curtail the "freedom of science?" Not at all. To critics of the USSR who claim it does, "freedom of science," like "free enterprise" means the freedom of the monopolies to exert control over the life of the nation by virtue of their enormous wealth and influence. Democratic science requires the intervention of a people's government which expresses the interests of the people.

This is the framework of the controversy. To insure the free interplay of forces the following procedure was followed. Over a period of fifteen years various conferences were called to allow for a full discussion of the evidence accumulated and presented by each side in the debate and to clarify the issues involved. Both sides had extensive research facilities. Even during the all-out war effort against the Nazis, Dubinin, a geneticist, conducted a wide series of studies of fruit-fly population in war-torn areas. It was only in the summer of 1948, after the experts in biology had discussed the matter fully and the issues had finally become clear, that the Soviet authorities expressed official approval of the Michurin-Lysenko point of view.

The complete text of the 1948 debate has recently appeared in this country.* In a brief comment on May 25, 1949, Lewis Gannett, of the *New York Herald Tribune*, admitted that the debate seemed "singularly free and vigorous."

Extensive evidence was presented to support the attack on classical genetics. Experiments in the field of plant and animal breeding, microscopic and biochemical studies, are described with enthusiasm and greeted with applause by an audience of about 700. New paths of experimentation are outlined. The reports breathe progress and achievement touched with pride in socialist construction. Science is placed at the service of the people and comes alive.

There is not the slightest evidence of fear or intimidation in the entire debate.

The effective force behind the arguments supporting Lysenko was based on results and soundness of theoretical outlook, not on constituted authority. Of the fifty-six Soviet scientists who participated, eight vigorously opposed Lysenko. Of the eight, three revised their opinions at the concluding session.

If Soviet geneticists had been put to death or otherwise intimidate because of their opposition to Lysenko, how is it that so many outstanding biologists, academicians and professors opposed him in uninhibited fashion in this debate? And how is it that no one of these eight has been purged or liquidated?

When Professor A. I. Oparin spoke at the Cultural and Scientific Congress for World Peace, he was asked whether there were "a number of professors who had lost their jobs because they did not believe in the Michurin theory of biology. . . ." He replied, "No, this is not true. I can name Lysenko's opponents, the leaders in the discussion, and I can tell you where they are now working."** He then proceeded to describe the current activities of Dubinin and Schmalhausen. Although Schmalhausen had been relieved of his duties as a director of the Severtsov Institute of Evolutionary Morphology he "is still an active academician, an active member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and working in the University of Leningrad." Dubinin, whose Institute was abolished for unfruitfulness is still a "corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and is doing intensive work in reforestation."

The positions of the other opponents of Lysenko, who include Orbeli, Director of the Pavlov Institute, and Zavadovsky, Director of the Timiryazev Academy of Agriculture, have not been affected in any way.

The most vituperative of Lysenko's attackers in this country, Nobel prize-winner H. J. Muller, admitted that his charges of liquidation have been entirely based on circumstantial evidence. The only actual evidence that has appeared is that some geneticists have died. Unfortunately, geneticists, like all other humans, are mortal, and Soviet medicine is not so far advanced that no one in the USSR dies of natural causes. Whenever anyone dies it is easy to concoct imaginative tales of execution. The fact is that the only individual who has demonstrably lost his position because of this controversy has been Professor Ralph Spitzer of Oregon State University, who was summarily dismissed because he wrote a letter to a scientific periodical suggesting Lysenko be studied before he is condemned. (Turn page)

*What
the
North
Atlantic
Pact
means
to you*

*read and
distribute*

JUNGLE LAW OR HUMAN REASON? by Jessica Smith

*An analysis of the
Pact, its dangers
and its costs to the
world and to you.
The myth of So-
viet aggression ex-
posed. Worldwide
opposition to the
Pact and how the
American people
mobilize for Peace.*

*48 pages with
cover in color*

10¢
Five or more,
5¢ each

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 E. 32nd St., New York 16

* *The Situation in Biological Science*, International Publishers, New York, 1949.

** *Speaking of Peace*, National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, New York, 1949.

It is clear that the Michurin-Lysenko theories have prevailed in the USSR because of the basic character of Soviet science. There, science is organized to serve the basic needs of the people on the foundation of a healthy interrelation between theory and practice. The process of free discussion exemplified in this debate serves to facilitate the assimilation of what is new in science and the expunging of what is old and outmoded. Contrast their attitude with that of certain scientists in this country who have seized on this procedure, not as an opportunity for deepening our understanding of science, but for the spewing of anti-Soviet hatred and venom in an unprincipled manner.

With the worthy aim of defending the freedom of scientific thought and research, a struggle in which many scientists are engaged in this country today, the May, 1949 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* rushed a distinguished group of reinforcements to the genetics fray in the form of several outstanding American university professors and a Fellow of the Royal Society. The result is a glittering confirmation of the thesis recently expressed by Maurice Cornforth that, "The entire present position of science in the capitalist world is determined by the circumstances of the general crisis of capitalism, of the rise of American im-

perialism, of the Marshall Plan and its operation, of the developing economic crisis, of the preparation of a third world war.*

Editor Eugene Rabinowitch leads off with an editorial suggestively entitled, "The Purge of Genetics in the Soviet Union," and claims a "disregard of scientific facts and methods, and a subordination of science to political expediency." Sewall Wright avers that "there was such a conflict and that it took violent form because of the totalitarian political organization accustomed to rule by terror." L. C. Dunn thinks that Lysenko was supported because of "concern with consolidating the control of the Party over agriculture through the collectives," and his theories were accepted "because they differ from those held in bourgeois countries." Karl Sax begins by stating that "So far as the general claims of Lysenko and his associates are concerned, it hardly seems worthwhile to consider them in detail." Theodosius Dobzhansky writes that "They have made themselves a laughingstock to millions of people all over the world, and being laughed at may be fatal to them. Having placed a maniac in charge of their agriculture, they are bound to suffer grave losses in harvest, and this

* *Science for Peace and Socialism*, D. Bernal and Maurice Cornforth, London, 1949, p. 55.

for a long time. . . ." Richard B. Goldschmidt, who spews more in the same vein, naively admits that the geneticists have been playing politics when he writes, in reference to the 1939 International Genetics Congress. "I personally think that it was a mistake to elect Vavilov president of that congress. *As the honor was clearly intended to back him up in his fight against Lysenko*, [my emphasis—B.F.] it appeared to be a political demonstration and as such had just the opposite effect from that intended." He does not object to playing politics, but that it did not have the effect intended.

This unsightly stew is interspersed with comments appearing to be scientific but which basically distort the real meaning of the controversy. The issue is not whether the facts of genetics exist or not, whether there are mutations or not or whether these mutations represent changes in the gene molecule. There is no denial of these facts any place in the debate. What is at issue is whether these facts justify conclusions of a special substance of heredity and a denial of the possibility of affecting heredity through metabolic changes in the development of the organism.

The results of Lysenko and his associates say that this can be done. Furthermore, studies are being pursued to probe more deeply into the nature of the process. Professor N. M. Sisakian, a biochemist, said, during the debate on Lysenko's report, "Already in 1936, we were able to establish that in the vernalization of seeds according to T. D. Lysenko's method, fundamental changes of a biochemical character take place in vegetating plants." Professor B. A. Rubin, of the Bach Biochemical Institute, is studying the "biochemical nature of the adaptive reactions in plants" devoting "major attention to the leaf," work that will help clarify the role of the leaves in the production of vegetative hybrids. S. Vavilov, president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, discussing research plans for 1949 stated, "Considerable attention will be devoted to the question of metabolism; the all-round elaboration of these problems should make it possible to clarify and elucidate those factors which determine the changes that take place in organisms, and the influence of heredity in environment."

The course of biological science for years to come is being charted, and the danger is that dogma and bias will cause many to miss the boat. A better understanding would promote true international understanding and the cause of world peace.

Now you can think of your friends, too!

Help your friends to understand the USSR by seizing this bargain opportunity and giving them this valuable book.

SOVIET RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR

by Dr. Hewlett Johnson
DEAN OF CANTERBURY



Traveling extensively through the Soviet Union, seeing and hearing for himself what is happening, the Dean of Canterbury brings us this enthralling and revealing report. It is the inspiring picture of a nation rising again from devastation; conclusive evidence of a nation building for world peace.

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 East 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me.....copies of the Dean of Canterbury's "Soviet Russia Since the War," for which I enclose \$.....

Name

Address

CityZone.....State.....

3 for \$1.00

Separately, 49¢ each

IF YOU WANT BOOK BARGAINS

Don't fail to join SRT Book Club. Turn to the back cover for details, and join now.

SEE SOVIET FILMS

**Color Films From
the USSR**

Current Features

THE MAGIC HORSE

First feature-length color cartoon, based on the famous folk tale "The Hump-backed Horse."

LIFE IN BLOOM

Based on the life of Ivan Michurin, famous horticulturist. Written and produced by Alexander Dovzhenko, with music by Shostakovich.

SYMPHONY OF LIFE

A tale of the new Siberian land, beautifully photographed in Soviet Chrome Color and enriched with Russian music. Directed by Ivan Piriev, director of "They Met in Moscow."

Coming

THE TRAIN GOES EAST

Romance and adventure on the road from Moscow to Vladivostok.

Current Color Shorts

AUTUMN IN GEORGIA
GREEN SHORES
IN THE WORLD OF CRYSTALS
SECRETS OF NATURE
SONG OF HAPPINESS
(Cartoon)
SPRING MELODIES
(Cartoon)
SUKHUMI IN NOVEMBER
WINTER SPORTS

Artkino Pictures, Inc.
723 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
Telephone: Circle 5-6570

alternate SRT BOOK CLUB SELECTIONS

THESE OUTSTANDING BOOKS ARE
OFFERED TO YOU AT A DISCOUNT

Any of these books may be selected on joining the Club, or members may substitute one for the regular selection. See our back cover for details.

RUSSIAN LITERATURE SINCE THE REVOLUTION

Joshua Kunitz

This remarkable anthology contains 4 novels, 20 stories, 22 poems, 4 essays and 5 literary surveys.

CLUB MEMBER'S PRICE \$3.20
Non-members \$6.00

MEDICINE AND HEALTH IN THE SOVIET UNION

Henry E. Sigerist, M.D.

A world authority answers a myriad of questions concerning medical developments in the USSR.

CLUB MEMBER'S PRICE \$2.20
Non-members \$4.00

PEOPLE COME FIRST

Jessica Smith

Every important aspect of Soviet life in its latest phases and in its full development, told with the immediacy and intimacy of first-hand contact and rich background.

CLUB MEMBER'S PRICE \$2.20
Non-members \$2.75

RUSSIAN ZONE OF GERMANY

Gordon Schaffer

Timely, factual, informative. Necessary for a full understanding of today's events.

CLUB MEMBER'S PRICE \$2.20
Non-members \$2.50

SOVIET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1917

Maurice Dobb

World's first socialist economy in action.

CLUB MEMBER'S PRICE \$2.20
Non-members \$4.00

Soviet Russia Today
114 E. 32nd St., N. Y. 16

FACTS FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

Be well informed on the most vital questions of the day. The publications below are indispensable to those who wish to contribute to a peaceful world.

JUNGLE LAW OR HUMAN REASON?

Jessica Smith

What the North Atlantic Pact means to you in terms of peace and prosperity.

10¢ each

THE SCIENCE OF BIOLOGY TODAY

Trofim Lysenko

The address of the President of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the USSR evoked by the international discussion on genetics.

Cloth \$1.25 Paper \$0.25

SOVIET WHITE PAPER ON NORTH ATLANTIC PACT

Translation of full text of the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

5¢ each

FALSIFIERS OF HISTORY

An historical document of World War II. Containing the official Soviet reply to the State Department publication on the Nazi-Soviet documents AND the remarkable documented historical analysis "Diplomacy by Falsehood," by Prof. Frederick L. Schuman.

25¢; special low rate in quantity.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE COLD WAR

D. N. Pritt

The historical record set straight in an authoritative, concerted narrative.

Cloth \$1.25 Paper 40¢

SOVIET DEMOCRACY

Dr. Harry F. Ward

A scholarly study of Soviet democracy with clear answers to many questions including those that many Americans ask regarding Soviet elections.

15¢, illustrated

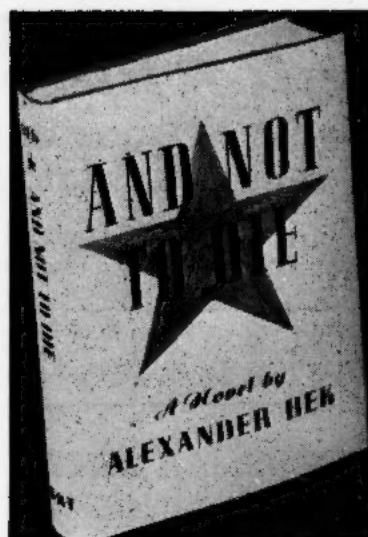
AVAILABLE THROUGH
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
114 E. 32nd St., New York 14

**Current SRT Book
Club selection—
(July-August)**

And Not to Die

by Alexander Bek

**If it were not for SRT
BOOK CLUB this great
novel would not be
available in America!**



"The author set himself just this task—to give in the most communicable terms the human constituents of the epic battles. And he hit upon what proved to be a remarkably effective method; he hunted out one of the participants, the Kazakh commander of a mixed Kazakh and Russian battalion, had a succession of long talks with him and, gradually, so steeped himself in the nature and the memories of the man as to be able to become his very tongue. What we have here are not only incidents and data but the actual physical atmosphere of battle, the actual emotional tensions of the fighters and their reactions to the moral trials in which their character was formed.

"As Alexander Bek sets them down his pages take on a more than factual realism; and a realism of the actual

event that one seldom finds in fiction; a truth, indeed, that one seldom finds in any form of literature. The author's hand seems to be absent. We seem to hear living speech and to see events recalled at first hand, with the very flush and odor of the actual experience still upon them. . . . If the definition of the epic as a work grand in scale but intimate in intensity is accepted, "And Not to Die" deserves the title. In the final accounting of the literature arising out of the Second World War it is certain to take a place among the leaders, if not the leading place. In its combination of nobility and personal warmth, in its evocation of the human potentialities for greatness, it would stand out in any groupings of contemporary books."

—Isidor Schneider,
"Soviet Russia Today"

Join the Club that—

brings to its members the best books, by leading authorities, on the Soviet Union and American-Soviet relations—the Club that makes such vital books available when they are not on American publishers' lists—the Club that makes such books available to its members at savings of from 30 to 60 per cent—and an outstanding book FREE on joining.

No fees—no dues

Membership in SRT Book Club costs you nothing and obligates you to accept only three selections annually (more if you like). The regular price is \$1.98 (plus 22¢ for postage and handling). Announcements of new selections are published in "Soviet Russia Today." Should you not want the current choice, you merely let us know by card.

Join SRT BOOK CLUB with this Stalin Prize Winner

an epic of the
Battle of Moscow

**Only \$1.98 to members
(Plus 22¢ for postage and
handling)
Non-members' price \$3.00**

ATTENTION SRT BOOK CLUB MEMBERS

Negotiations for our next book selection have been delayed. We are therefore carrying *And Not to Die* as our current selection for an additional month.

Or join with the May-June selection **Joshua Kunitz' Russian Literature Since the Revolution**

This remarkable Soviet anthology contains 4 novels, 20 stories, 22 poems, 4 essays, 5 literary surveys. Dr. Kunitz has not only chosen outstanding representative examples of Soviet literature, he has selected those which most powerfully reflect epical events and the seething life of the four epochs of Soviet history. The publishers' price for this treasure house of literature is \$6.00. Club members' price, only \$2.98, plus 22¢ postage and handling—a 50 per cent saving!

Free to New Members

As your premium for joining you receive, absolutely free, a year's subscription, or if you are already a subscriber, either a year's renewal to "Soviet Russia Today" OR your choice of one of these fine books!

RUSSIA: The Giant That Came Last, by Joshua Kunitz. A new kind of history that gives an understanding of Russia today.

SOVIET RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR, by Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury. The conclusive evidence of a nation building for peace.

THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION, by Corliss Lamont. Absorbing, authoritative information on the diverse nationalities of the USSR.

SRT BOOK CLUB—114 East 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member of SRT Book Club. Send me as my first selection:

☐ **AND NOT TO DIE**

for which I enclose \$2.20 (membership price \$1.98 plus 22¢ postage and handling)

or ☐ **RUSSIAN LITERATURE SINCE THE REVOLUTION**

for which I enclose \$3.20 (membership price \$2.98 plus 22¢ postage and handling)

As my premium ☐ enter ☐ renew my subscription to *Soviet Russia Today* for 1 year

OR, since I am already a subscriber, send me (check one)

☐ *Russia: The Giant That Came Last* ☐ *Soviet Russia Since the War*

☐ *Peoples of the Soviet Union*

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....